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ELEMENTAL CATEGORIES, SYMBOLS, AND IDEAS OF ASSOCIATION IN KONGO-MANIANGA SOCIETY

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PART I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This work is an investigation into the institutional and ideational sources of associational structures among the Manianga people of the Lower Congo. Similar in character to other societies of Western and Equatorial Africa, the Manianga are noted for a diversity of associations both traditional and modern in the religious, economic, and political realms of life. At the outset of my fieldwork in 1964 I had hoped to concentrate primarily on associations of modern orientation such as tribal councils, cooperatives, sects, and perhaps political parties. In order to give my research a firm regional basis, I began simultaneously to study a traditional community of the rural Manianga.

In the course of this double inquiry into both modern associations and the conventional social setting it became evident that the two empirically-separable domains manifested many significant morphological similarities. In order to isolate the elemental models of social organization, the "constitution" of corporate structure, so to speak, I found myself turning increasingly to a study of the matrilineage and the local settlement, at which level the configuration of Manianga social structure presented itself in the most lucid form. Since no basic ethnography has yet been carried out on the Manianga, it seemed suitable to devote the major part of my field research, and this present work, to a topical ethnography emphasizing corporate structure. Whence the title "elemental categories, symbols, and ideas of association in Kongo-Manianga society."

The rather broad orientation of my fieldwork served both to benefit and obstruct the application of synthesizing theory to data; benefitting in that the full spectrum of corporate structures ranging from Provincial Government, tribal council, consumer's cooperative, to matrilineage and rotating credit association were at one time brought into consideration, obstructing in that it was quite impossible in only 16 months of fieldwork to introduce intensive research techniques to any but a few individual corporate groups.

Once withdrawn from the hectic intensity of fieldwork, the immediate task at hand became recognizing representative cases of widespread and typical institutions and ideas. What I had observed was not "systems" nor "systems of structures", but Whiteheadian "prehensions, unities of existence, occasions of experience . . . having a measure of collective unity" (1961:927), some of which related to the issue of associations, both traditional and modern, ascriptively and achievement recruited, economic and religious in function, and so on.

After casting about for a suitable conceptual framework of analysis Burke's writings on Constitutions came to the forefront (1962:323-401). In this section of his Grammar of Motives, Burke is concerned with what he calls the general constitution of human affairs, the "constitution-behind-the-constitution" a "set of motives which inheres in rhetorical strategies and symbolic acts"; the abstract of which is an "idealistic anecdote in that its structure is an "enactment of human wills."

Rephrased in Burkean terms, this present work may be considered a study of the constitution of Kongo-Manianga corporate behavior.

Charting a hypothetical book on Human Relations, Burke emphasizes the necessity of a judicious choice of the "representative anecdote" as primary analytic instrument for fixing the position of this more abstracted Constitution of human will and symbolic action (1962:323). Such anecdotes he continues, may not be the mere product of infinitesimal reduction of observed material. Nor should the entities of observation be multipled into too complex a unit for reconstruction. The desirable anecdote, "to be truly representative, must be synecdochic rather than metonymic; or, in other words, it must be a part for the whole rather than a reduction of the mental to the physical (1962:326, emphasis in original). Following this schema, the central task is that of relating institutions to ideas, of recognizing the institutions by the representative anecdotes.

In subsequent chapters of this work I have therefore isolated a limited number of institutional categories for special consideration, categories which are not necessarily exhaustive, but which each from a different perspective, portrays a distinctive dimension of corporate life. Each of these categories, corresponding roughly to the chapter divisions, is an analytical problem against which "representative anecdotes" from the ethnographic material are placed. The categories correspond to an analytical problem, of recognizing the basic properties of irreducible entities--of representative anecdotes--in Kongo society, irreducible in the sense that they lose their characteristic features if reduced further.

Chapter II introduces the human and environmental ecology of Kongo-Manianga society. Chapter III and IV relate the political process of two different levels of corporate structures, the modern economic and political associations of the Manianga and the matrilineage and hamlet community comprised of several descent groups. I am concerned here with emphasizing the above-cited morphological similarities of the two types of groups, a critique of the theory that the so-called voluntary associations of Tropical Africa are unique from other "traditional" institutions. In Chapter IV an analysis is made of the elemental ritual and jural components entering into the individual's attachment to the corporate descent group. If the broader tenets of a unitary corporate Constitution are to be grasped, the descent group must be seen as only one among many such entities, with only certain particularities of membership recruitment, and not as a qualitatively different kind of corporate group. In Chapter VI the discussion turns to the corporate institutional features of the matrilineage estate in contrast to the individual's committment to such a group. I describe the function of certain corporate offices and the way in which corporate property, both of a tangible and intangible nature, is administered. Here Burke's comment to the effect that constitutions are "agonistic instruments" implicitly or explicity, involving an enemy, becomes relevant. Constitutions (such as that of the matrilineage) "attempt by verbal or symbolic means to establish a motivational fixity of some sort in opposition to something that is thought liable to endanger this fixity" (1962:357). I discuss the reason for the elaborate rationale of subversion, witchcraft, and extra-lineage pacts. In Chapter VII the nature and history of public institutions of order and reconciliation, i.e., of government, are discussed.

The tracing of origins of the associational pattern concludes in Chapter VIII with a description of the alliance network in conjunction with certain variables of residence and descent group status. This provides the profile of corporate group interaction, based mainly on the institution of exchange. All of these analytical categories are to a degree differentiated by the native society and thus correspond to self-conscious ideational institutions. Due to the limited nature of this work, however, I do not go as far as Leach (1964:101-107) in his study of Highland Burma society in isolating "structural categories", although a more extended work might come to that.

Throughout I am interested in the ideas, ideologies, intellectual patterns, and rationale consciously brought to bear upon specific contexts of interaction by the native users in explaining, justifying, or convincing and persuading others. Such ideas appear sometimes in highly generalized frames of reference, but often they are couched in an idiomatic usage such as the lineage genealogy or the proverb, and even sometimes in ceremonial usages. We may single out the proverb to illustrate the point. The proverb, ngana, in Kongo society, unlike the "nice saying" of Western society, is a powerful rhetorical tool when properly used. It, along with some other rhetorical devices such as the bikumu, the call and response interjections in public discourse, are metaphoric, allegoric, or allusionistic instruments of the native speaker which suggest to his listeners--who always know the same ngana of bikumu,--the reason of his argument. In writing on the nature of ideas in Barotse law, Gluckman has accurately identified the ngana as "the idea of reason and principle" behind the general idea of regularity and order and rightness. From this stems his mutu yangana, or the "reasonable man" of Barotse jurisprudence (1965:20-21). In Kikongo the reasonable man, similarly, would be the muuntu wangana, although I did not, I must admit, hear this phrase used by the Kongo.

It is through the symbolic matrix of such forms as the proverb then, that the events, relations, and configurations of institutional categories are imbued with significant ideas or principles. The focus of symbolism may be illustrated by examples from verbal conceptualization, relational identity sets such as kinship, and social rules such as those invented by most corporate groups or associations in Manianga society. As other Bantu languages, the Kikongo is verb-centric. To over-simplify the matter considerably, verbal nouns and adjectives of a wide range of modular classes are created from a primitive verbal stem. An example of how ideas are congealed in language form, and remembered through this verb device, is the epithet "muntala watala mvila zazonso" (Laman 1953:17). Freely translated, this would be "the watchers (derived from tala, to watch, guard, observe) at the principal places of watching (mintala), watched over all the clans," a phrase used to recall the migratory invasion of the Nsundi people into the North Kongo region, and the establishment of the main Nsundi chiefdoms. Or, to take another example that appears elsewhere in this work, the ceremony of reconciliation between two antagonistic lineage groups was summed up by one observer in the phrase "bantu beti kuluka, beti kwenda ku makulu mau." Translated, "people are growing up (kula, to sprout, grow, become a man, a hunter, a viable adult), and are moving on to their lineage cemeteries (makulu, substantive, denoting the focal point of lineage ancestry (bakulu), of the lineage tradition (kikulu).

This manner of utilizing language, to mention another application, gives rise to the derivation of names from occasions and circumstances; for example, Bafidisa (they sent, from fila, to send), Nkebi (from keba, to guard, survey), Masamba (the name sometimes given to the child after it is discovered that he is the precursor of twins, from samba, to open the way, to illuminate the path, etc.,), and finally the neologism Ladio (from radio, because "they were listening to the radio when the child was born").

Terms attaching to descent groups at various levels are based on this same principle, but with an added degree of complexity and generality. Vumu, mooyo, and tuuku, all called upon to denote the same social group, derive respectively from vumuna, to breathe, to live, moya, to live (although this is not frequently employed in its verbal form), and tuka, to originate, to stem from. One immediately encounters extreme qualifiers however in trying to equate the etymology of these terms with their social correlates. Vumu mosi is the idiom often used to say that one was born of the same mother as so and so. Thus vumu denotes mother's womb. But, in fact, a more accurate translation would be the French sein, bosom, home, or fold since vumu also denotes the minimal lineage. A similar ambiguity, or unified concept attaching to two analytically-distinctive social levels, occurs in the term tuuku, source, origin. This was described to me as the exogamous social group. But the analytical difficulty arises when in another context tuuku is identified as "all of the Bakongo."

The hazards of identifying mere etymological constructus with no correspondence to reality, as the case of tuuku above illustrates, is greatly reduced as additional analytical persepctive is introduced, namely that of the relational focal point, or the semantic center of meaning, of a verbal notion. Correspondingly, it must be recognized that the semantic span of a verbal idea, although it may be analyzed logically, it is nevertheless fixed to a circumference of meaning beyond which there is a point of diminishing semantic value outside the scope of the signifying identity relationship.

This critique of relational symbolism is nowhere more relevant than in the analysis of kinship categories. A simple example from Kongo-Manianga kinship will illustrate the point. The adjacent ascending generation of kinsmen are classed as "fathers" (Fa, FaBr, FaSi, & MoSi-Hu) and "mothers" (Mo, MoSi, MoBr, & FaBrWi). The rules state that marriage is prohibited with this set. Alternative ascending generational individuals within the kinship group are classed as "grandparents". Since this kin term also denotes patrilateral cross-cousins, marriage into this set is, in theory, permitted or preferred. However no one considers marrying his mother's mother, one of the "grandparents". At this point another rule that of lineal exogamy, supersedes. Similarly, there are exceptions to the rule of "father" exogamy, in which corporate descent group exigences outweigh the marriage prohibition. And marriage into the broad classificatory set of "mothers" or matrilineal kinsmen, in theory prohibited, can be circumvented by the normative rite of "killing the pig" (of consanguinity). Whereas kinship rules are sometimes tactfully skirted in litigation, in other circumstances the farthest reaches of a logical category may be brought to life if land or witchcraft are involved.

For these reasons the inquiror may meet up with total perplexity among informants when he tries to reconstruct the remote definitional fringes of kin categories, even though these same fringes are sometimes generated for specific application. Involved in the use of verbal concepts an analytic tool is the highly artful assignment of discerning the focal centers and the margins of meaning out of a logical class. This applies to the constant semantic domains of the verbal concept as well as to the relational or transformational semantic extension of kinship rules, and to all areas of social life, indicative that society is ultimately a symbolic matrix (Levi-Strauss 1958:47, 62).

A final remark is pertinent with respect to what may be called the symbolism of social rules. One of the striking characteristics of corporate organizations in Kongo society is the predeliction of its members to draw up sets of rules and prohibitions, minsiiku, binding on the members. This is true not only of the matrilineage, but of the historic Lemba elite men's association, the religious sects of contemporary times, the political parties, tribal associations, and cooperatives as well. The rules of the lineage (minsiiku mia dikanda) vary from one group to another and prescribe such things as who may be buried in the lineage cemetery, when trees may be cut in the sacred forest, and so forth. The Lemba priest was forbidden, among other things, to reveal the secrets of his initiation. In one of the modern sects the use of magic (muyeke) is forbidden. In a cooperative of recent origin it is explicitly made clear that while all men, rich or poor, educated or uneducated, may join, women may not. The point I am illustrating is that these rules, generally prohibitions, signify the symbolic identity of the group just as much as they define behavior of members of the group. They stand in the same relationship to an idea of corporate structure as verb derivations to their semantic intent, or kinship terms to social relations. Thus they must be analyzed with the same concern over integrational centers of meaning and fringes of meaning. Just as in other symbolic domains, the most significant ideas of corporate organization may not have any explicit statement, or they may be expressed in the very eliptic phrasing of an ngana or some kind of epithet as the nkumbululu, the lineage "name". Gluckman has emphasized in writing of Barotse legal ideas that the most important of them "might be the least precise, in having the most open texture, precisely because they had to cover the widest range of rules and processes of social control" (1965:23).

Explicit rules in Kongo corporate organizations thus often have more to do with the general unstated relationship to authority--to the lineage head, to parent, to the corporate purpose, to the ancestors, to God--than to the intrinsic value of the rule itself. Specific rules are dispensible, but deference to order and authority is not, even though it is always stated in the form of rules. The Kongo themselves seem to sense a concern for "constitutional review" in their frequent use of the verbal notion sika, to command, to project a law, to instruct, to enlighten, to promise, to resolve to act, or to assure order and well-being, all of which are the conceived duties of authority. Only in its nominative form does this notion become nsiku, or rule, prohibition, or moral imperative. A lineage head is expected to "sika" his group to keep them from conflict and segmentation by assuring them with his generous protection. God and His Spirit, as well as the ancestors, are expected to sika, order, the world. The common plea or prayer addressed to authority to "open the gates of heaven" so to speak, when there is uncertainty and frustration on the part of subordinates, is "sikidikisa (undergird, safe-guard, protect, pour out blessings upon) the membership, the Kongo, the whole world . . . " The significance of this quest for authority and order, and the processual nature of "ruling", in spite of the existence of specific rules and explicit norms, is central to the subject of this study.

The ultimate aim of this work, therefore, is to elucidate the fundamental principles of associational and corporate order in Kongo-Manianga society. I approach this task through an analytical description of various institutions, a task admittedly topical rather than exhaustive. This is not an inventory ethnography. While I pay close attention to empiric detail of the "representative anecdote", the even more important focus is on values--the ideas and symbols--governing association. This schema of things implies identification of the focal span of idea and symbol in a semantic sense in order to note the points of congruence and incongruence with empirical fact.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL HISTORY AND ENVIRONMENT OF THE MANIANGA

The Pre-Colonial Period from the Seventeenth to the Late Nineteenth Century

The appelation Manianga was historically attached to a large market on the north bank of the Congo river (see fig. 1), to a chiefship identified with this market, and to one of the narrower and easier crossing points of the Congo river which is punctuated by rapids, treacherous undercurrents, and whirlpools elsewhere along its course from Kinshasa to Matadi. As a reputable market during the pre-colonial era, Manianga lay midway between the coastal regions north of the river and the market of Mpumbu near Stanley Pool, a hub of early slave trade between the Lower and Upper Congo (see fig. 2). Stanley reports from his passages through the Manianga first in 1877 and later in 1881 that prior to this time the market had seen extensvie trade in slaves, ivory, rubber, palm oil and nuts, pigs, sheep, goats, and chickens. Native copper wire originating from the mines of the Teke country served largely as the local currency prior to Stanley's time. Caravans travelling between the coast and Mpumbu would pause at Manianga to exchange their charges of cloth, pearls, and beads for manioc bread, legumes, and copper and iron objects in view of trade with Upper Congo native merchants (Nicolai 1961:44). However already by the time Stanley had seen this area the slave trade was nearly ended and ivory had become scarce; trade activity at Manianga had declined and the

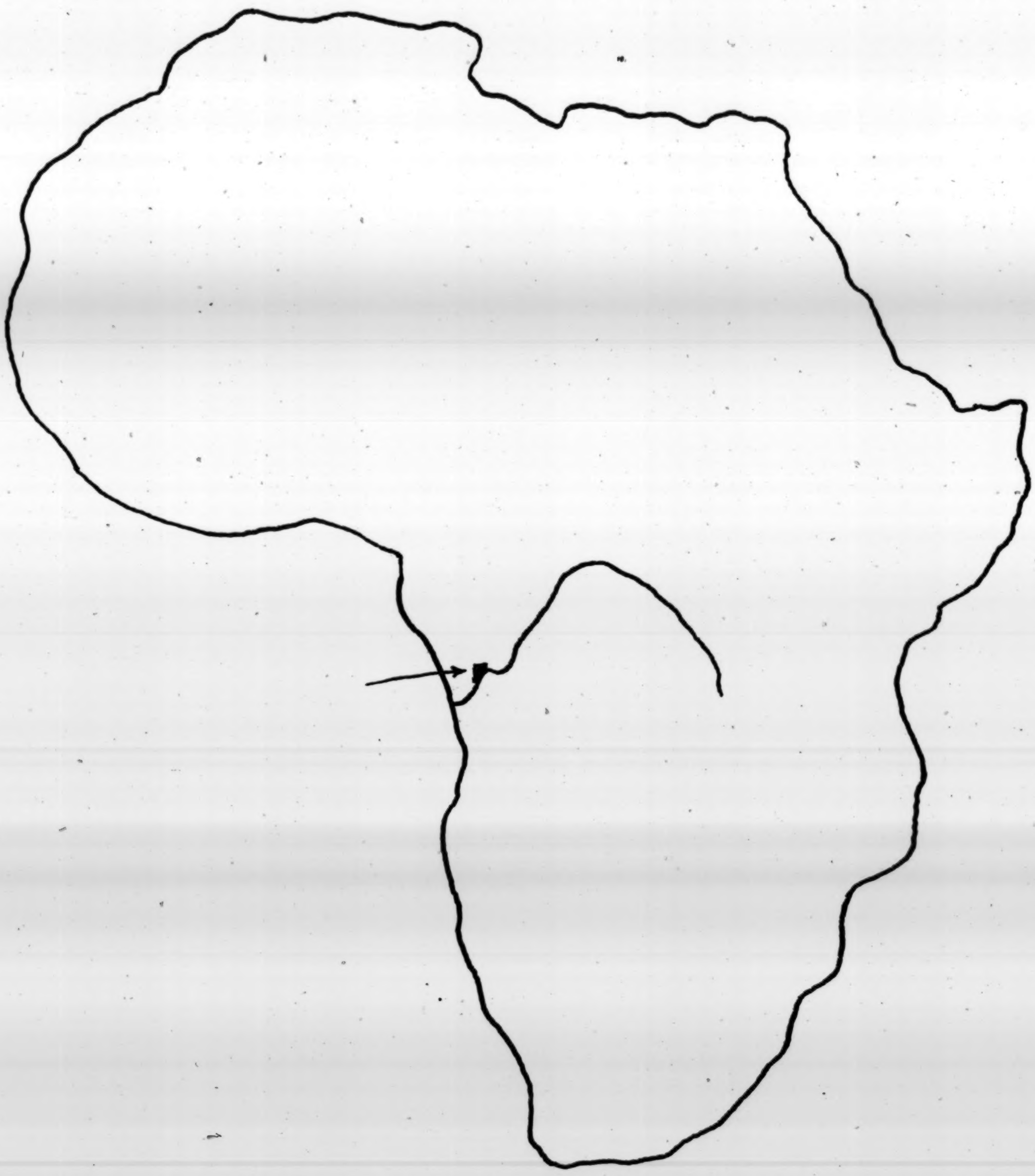

Fig. 1.— The Territory of Luozi in Africa

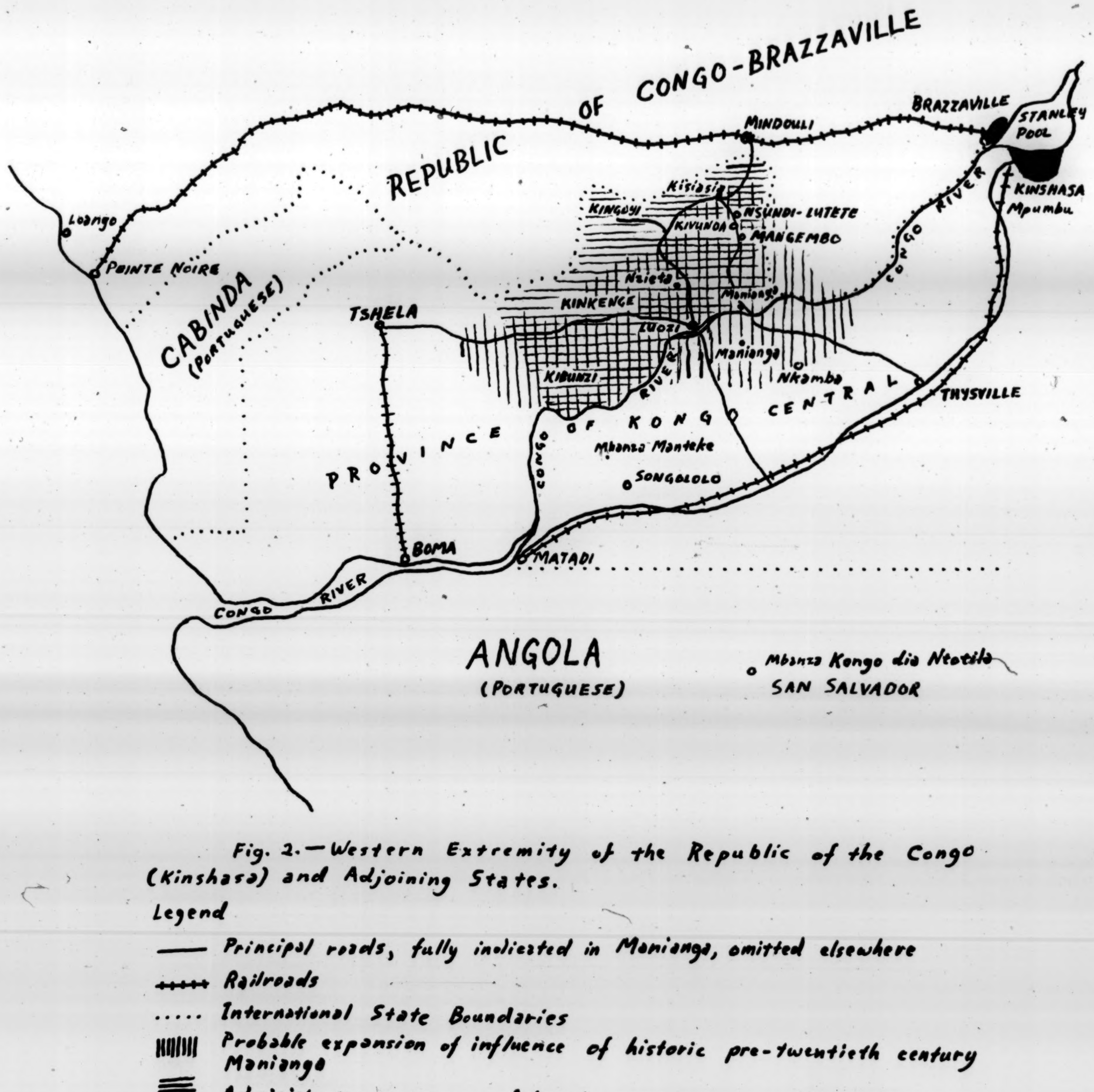
REPUBLIC OF CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE
BRAZZAVILLE
STANLEY POOL
MINDOULI
KINSHASA
Mpumbu
Loango
POINTE NOIRE
CABINDA (PORTUGUESE)
Kisiasi
KINGOYI
NSUNDI-LUTETE
KIVUNDA
MANGEMBO
Nzieto
Manianga
KINKENGE
TSHELA
LUOZI
Manianga
Nkambo
KIBUNZI
CONGO RIVER
PROVINCE OF KONGO CENTRAL
THYSVILLE
Mbanza Manteke
SONGOLOLO
BOMA
MATADI
CONGO RIVER
ANGOLA (PORTUGUESE)
Mbanza Kongo dia Ntotila
SAN SALVADOR

Fig. 2.—Western Extremity of the Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa) and Adjoining States.

Legend

— Principal roads, fully indicated in Manianga, omitted elsewhere

┼┼┼┼ Railroads

..... International State Boundaries

‖‖‖‖ Probable expansion of influence of historic pre-twentieth century Manianga

☰ Administrative territory of Luozi, contemporary Manianga inhabitants of the area who had previously profited from their proximity to a major trade route were now driven to a more meager subsistence livelihood in the cultivation of manioc, beans, yams, and peanuts. The market of Manianga had thus been somewhat exceptional during its zenith of activity, created largely by commerce in slaves and ivory. It was not a typical four-day-week market found throughout the Lower Congo.

Less is known about the history of the Manianga as a political unit. Local villagers on the south side of the river, who call themselves the Manianga ma Kasi, trace a contemporary chiefship back four men to the chief who ruled at Manianga and appears to have been in charge of the market at one time. The North-Manianga, in local terms the Manianga ma Luozi, appear to have constituted a larger regional expansion. Deleval (1913) notes that in the nineteenth century a migration of Manianga people into the East-Mayombe region (to the west of the present-day Luozi territory) occurred when these people sought to escape a severe drouth and famine in the Central Plateau area running from the Central Manianga all the way south to Angola. Laman (1953) concurs in this.

The nineteenth century Manianga area covered parts of what have come to be known as the Nsundi and the Bwende tribal regions, figuring as important at an even earlier period. The Bwende, loosely organized into separate chiefdoms, inhabited the region of today's Manianga and eastward toward Stanley Pool. The Bwende are considered to be closely related to the Nsundi, a group frequently noted in the earliest records on the Kongo kingdom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nsundi was the northern-most province of the Kongo kingdom and it was from here that the Kongo ntotila (king) stemmed. He was governor of this province before acceding to the throne at Mbanza Kongo (San Salvador in Angola). The Nsundi enjoyed considerable autonomy as did some of the other vassal states of the Kongo and when the Kongo kingdom weakened in the eighteenth century certain Nsundi clans began expanding into the area north of the river, previously under the influence of the Teke, or a vaguely-identifiable group called the Anzicains, or Anzico, most likely the Mazinga, out of which group the first Kongo king had originated in the fourteenth century. We know that already by the seventeenth century, following a report of one Cadornega who visited the Nsundi capital in 1680-81, certain of the vassal villages of the Nsundi regent corresponded to a few village-locales both south and north of the Congo river (De Paiva Manso 1877:240). As a result of this Nsundi expansion or conquest, the population north of the river came under the nominal control of regents or chiefs who indirectly identified themselves with Mbanza Kongo, although in fact, as is still evident today, many of the inhabitant populations of the present-day Manianga never crossed the river. To this day one can find Teke land-owning clan remnants in the Manianga. Iron and copper smelting sites attributed to the Teke are found in abundance in the North Manianga and in the region of Mindouli. The village of Kisiasia, in the commune of Kivunda, the locality with which this study is concerned, is thus comprised of a mixed population some of which has had a long residence in the area, other parts of which dates its arrival to more recent times.

In spite of the probable history of centralized kingdoms and chiefdoms and the identification of the people of the North-Manianga with historic kingdoms, the majority of the territory with which we are concerned here was by the late nineteenth century made up of small, sometimes single village, localized chiefdoms, but offset by the integrative presence of the religio-governmental Lemba association and the acephalous market structure. In the absence of highly centralized political units, the Lemba drew together prominent men of the region such as lineage heads, judges, and priest-healers, to provide a loose federation of local land-holding lineages and their clients and slaves, more or less effectively promoting trade and peaceful interaction in an otherwise hostile climate of slave raiding and feuding. In 1966 the elderly generation spoke of the Lemba association rather than the chiefdoms organized and imposed by the colonial government as having constituted the "old government".

The Native Reaction to European Intrusion

During the early years of first the Congo Free State presence (ca. 1890-1908) and then the Belgian colonial rule (1908 on) the balance between associational government in the form of the oligarchic Lemba federation and the hierarchic or autocratic government of the localized settlement "chiefdoms" was increasingly tipped in favor of the latter. Penetration by the European government agents into the North Manianga area was initially made difficult by a generalized hostility on the part of many chiefs; a number of Europeans were killed and even more natives of the area were forceably recruited for service to the Free State. In order to attach the colonial administration to native authority it became necessary to give certain chiefs favors and recognition while suppressing others, or making some the de jure authority over others in such administrative duties as tax collecting. As it turned out, those chiefs who were open to foreign interests usually became the recognized heads of "chiefdoms" incorporating several villages, whereas those who were opposed "abdicated" or lost the power they had possessed. As a consequence the Lemba constituency became divided against itself and lost its institutional effectiveness. Deeply rooted in the political culture of the ruling, adjudicating, and healing arts, the Lemba society lost its strength in the face of this new, outside, often forceably imposed rule.

With the appearance of Kimbangu Simon at Nkamba (see fig. 2) in 1921 as prophet of the Bakongo, the Lemba was quickly and conclusively disbanded. Many of the Lemba priests and other religio-magical specialists trekked across the river to witness for themselves this man who allegedly raised the dead and healed the sick. All Lemba order judges, healers, and chiefs with whom I spoke who had visited Nkamba in 1921 concurred that it had been Kimbangu, and not directly the colonial government nor the missions who had ended the Lemba, not because he was necessarily opposed to it, but because "he could raise from the dead, while we, the Lemba priests, could only heal." According to native theory his authority had surpassed theirs. He had ordered all religious relics and paraphernalia discarded in keeping with the teachings of the missionaries. But this injunction was also in keeping with the stricter traditional Kongo moral order of worshipping the true God and respecting the ancestors instead of following magical fads that had swept the country. Thus in the North Manianga, two years before the first mission was established, a thoroughgoing iconoclastic purge occurred.

The Manianga was first opened to mission work by the Swedish Reformed Church (Svenska Missionsforbundet) in 1887 with the stations of Kibunzi in the southwest and Kingoyi in the northwest corners respectively. The Swedes emphasized a broad popular education along with their evangelization efforts, to the extent that local village schools and congregations were established early in the areas surrounding the first mission stations. Early Swedish missionaries were well-versed in the Kikongo language, and several of them made authoritative ethnological and linguistic studies of the Manianga. The North-Manianga mission of Nsundi-Lutete, as suggested above, was not opened until 1923. In 1928 the Belgian Redemptorist Order of the Catholic Church opened the station of Mangembo in the North Manianga, just eight kilometers from Nsundi-Lutete. The Redemptorists also emphasized education in an effort to displace the early influence of Protestantism in the Manianga.

Following the highly-charismatic appearance of Kimbangu in mid-1921 other individuals of the Manianga were recognized as prophets (bangunza). A distinctive Maniangan prophet tradition emerged around the person of Mbumba Philippe of the Kinkenge area. Others appeared elsewhere. The colonial government, as is well-known, repressed such outbreaks of religious fervor whenever and wherever they occurred. Kimbangu was exiled to Katanga in 1921 and remained there in perpetual detention until his death in 1951. Mbumba was also eventually incarcerated, but his fate is unknown. From 1921 until 1959, when native churches obtained legal status, some form of religious eruption of indigenous origin and subsequent state intervention occurred almost annually in the Manianga.

It is known today that throughout this time clandestine networks of contact and a rudimentary organization of local congregations existed among sympathizers of the prophet movements, many of whom lived and worked under the disguise of other roles such as teachers in the mission schools and catechists in their churches.

The origins of Manianga identity and self-consciousness exhibited at the time of independence and later must be said to date back to the prophetic movements. There is even some evidence to substantiate the claim that the prophet movements, while not growing directly out of the earlier Lemba association, nevertheless resembled it in organization and in certain doctrinal and cosmological concepts.

The Colonial Administration and the Post-Independence Sequels

In the meantime the colonially-created chiefdoms, the *chefferies*, had gained a measure of permanence under the stabilizing influences of the *Pax Belgica*. They came increasingly to function as public tribunals and a point of liaison between the administration and the population for tax collection, health improvement programs, and work projects. The market cycle structure of former times was gradually transformed into a series of chief's markets linked with the chefferie. With the *Circonscription Indigène* administrative reform of 1933 an attempt was made to institute indirect rule analagous to the British colonial system. However in the Manianga, in view of the segmentary and decentralized nature of earlier society, any move to recognize and preserve authentic customary institutions meant little more than a continuation of colonially installed structures. In the Circonscription Indigène the chefferie became a secteur in some cases, and in other cases several small chefferies were consolidated into a single secteur. Administrative consolidation occurred again in 1944, reducing many of the former chefferies to the status of groupements and making them subordinate units to even more centralized secteurs. The secteur chiefship, the highest rank in the native or "customary" administration, but the lowest rank in terms of "noncustomary" administration, was occupied through appointment by the most competent of the earlier chefferie or small secteur chiefs. Within colonial circles much debate was devoted to the issue of whether the secteur was "administrative" or "customary". Parallel to this uncertain position of the secteur chief in the eyes of the administration was the ambiguity of his role before the local population.

From 1944 until the end of the colonial era the secteur remained unchanged in its basic lines and even acquired a considerable measure of legitimacy in the eyes of the populace. Native judges were incorporated into the secteur court with the secteur chief acting as principal judge. The secteur council, drawn at first from the ranks of the notables of each village, then increasingly from the growing group of teachers and merchants after the urban reforms of 1957, became an important point of contact between the population and the administrator of the Territory who often presided over its sessions. Brausch has noted that the system of local government, together with the economic infrastructure and the social achievements, was for years the chief strength of the Belgian colonial rule (in Young 1965:134). Colonial reform proposals of 1959, however, drawn up hastily in the shadow of independence, were unsuccessful. At the behest of ABAKO leaders, the Manianga population boycotted not only the elections for mayor in 1959 which would have made a commune of the secteur along the lines of the urban communes installed in 1957, but they effectively boycotted all colonial government from late 1959 until independence, preferring to handle local exigencies in the traditional manner, and paying their taxes to ABAKO, effectively the new government.

At the insistence of ABAKO party militants all colonial secteur chiefs, to a man, were discharged and replaced by popularly-elected individuals, either in the 1959 or in 1960 where, as in the Manianga, these elections had been boycotted. With the new regime in power secteur activity soon returned to its former routine. The courts in particular were well-attended, having a backlog of cases. The secteur councils, challenged with new freedoms, met frequently. One of the most troublesome problems of the immediate post-independence period was to inspire the populace to pay their taxes, now even heavier than before.

Higher up in the administrative hierarchy, at the level of the Territory and the District (an administrative post eliminated in 1963), party-loyal civil servants were assigned to offices having been held by Europeans. With this arrangement it soon became apparent that the firmly-implanted colonial administrative apparatus served well to consolidate power in the hands of a few leaders around Moanda, the provincial governor, and boss of ABAKO. He had spearheaded the bid for a separate Kongo province during the 1960-62 existence of the ill-fated multi-ethnic Leopoldville Province, an administrative carry-over from colonial times.

When the de facto separation of the Kongo region into an exclusively Kongo province was made into law in 1962, creating the Kongo Central Province, the Lower Congo for all purposes became a single-party oriented governmental structure.

Consolidation of power in the Kongo Central was affected through such instrumental tactics as the preservation of the chef de zone, a purely administrative office with "observational" powers over three secteurs, responsible directly to the district commissioner (and later, to the governor's office itself). A further measure of consolidation became apparent in the severe limitation of the Territorial Council, a body comprising all secteur chiefs of the Territory. In the Luozi Territory--the Manianga--this body met only once following independence with the explicit consent of the higher echelons of the administration. Further meetings were not permitted on the ostensible grounds that the administration was sufficiently aware of problems of government and that the complaints lodged by the Territorial Council would not receive action anyway. Considering this an intrusion of their rights and a limitation of their political freedoms, the secteur chiefs persisted in meeting occasionally as an ad hoc body, to the displeasure of the Territorial and Provincial Offices. Low-level administrative reforms to revise the colonially-inaugurated institutions were slow in coming. The secteur did come to be called a commune, and the chief a mayor, but for all purposes little had changed from formerly. In fact, the communal mayors in 1966 felt that their status was gradually being reduced from that of elected political representative of the community to administrative servant of higher government. The guide-lines and statutes of communal government, promised shortly after independence, had still not been issued in 1966. None of the rural commune mayors had even received copies of the National Constitution drawn up in 1964.

Further control and consolidation of power by the governor was enhanced by the 1963 decree which forbade the existence of all dissident parties and political organizations except ABAKO, of which Moanda was the acting head. This move jeopardized the legal status of the Manianga Tribal Council and similar groups which already hid behind a facade of "associational" status to differentiate them from "political" organizations. With some difficulty the Manianga Council retained its a-political associational identity through the 1965 legislative elections, engaging actively in pre-election campaigning within the Manianga, and even holding its own "primaries" in mute defiance of local ABAKO and administrative officials. Moanda's injunction regarding oppositionary political activity was countered by a competing ABAKO wing, although he did retain the governorship for the legislature term beginning in 1965. Failing to obtain seats in provincial and national assemblies for its preferred candidates, the Manianga Council by 1966 severed all ties with ABAKO, its one-time parent organization.

In both the consolidation of institutional power by ABAKO and in the formation of a regional opposition, post-independence politics in the Manianga demonstrated an incorporation of organizational values quite in keeping with the tenets of Kongo culture. The discussion of in just what these values consist will be taken up shortly below.

Topography, Resources, and Human Ecology of the Manianga

The Manianga varies topographically from riverside valley country at an altitude of 180 to 300 meters to fertile sandy plateau at 500 to 600 meters to rolling savanna interspersed by deeply-cut forested gulches to rocky mountainous elevations varying from 400 to 750 meters (Nicolai 1961:17-27). The annual rainfall averages nearly fifty inches per year, most of this coming between October and May, and sometimes irregularly even then. Drouth and excessive rain, as well as extreme soil erosion in places, constitute major problems (1961:29). In the past the role of the rain-maker was important.

Mineral resources of copper and iron were exploited traditionally, and these metals plus deposits of gold and manganese may again provide dividends to the area in the future. The Manianga has been surveyed and currently private indigenous groups are negociating with European holding companies to form a joint mining corporation in the region. The political factor of exploitation, of which the Maniangans are well aware, has thus far hampered progress in this domain.

But the principal occupation of the Manianga is still by far agriculture. In view of the topography, however, some areas are highly fertile and others quite barren. Correspondingly, population density varies sharply, with some localities being inhabited by upwards of fifty persons per square mile and others with less than five (1961:9-10). In areas with plentiful forest, approximately eighty per cent of the adult males work and gain a livelihood at home, while in areas of unfavorable conditions, less than fifty per cent remain. The exodus of Manianga men to urban centers to find employment is sharper than in other regions of the Lower Congo. Nicolai estimates that in the crucial age range of twenty to forty-five years, the Territory of Luozi has 205 women for every 100 men (1961:64). The effect of this disequilibrium upon local institutions may be less damaging than would seem the case, however, because of close social ties between city and country among Maniangans. This disproportion of males to females in the de facto rural population has not had the effect of destroying the fabric of the male-dominated authority structure; given the customary division of labor between the sexes, subsistence production in charge of the women has not reduced. Before the advent of urban employment possibilities, and still today in areas with plentiful forests, the politics of land tenure was ferocious; shortage of and competition for vital space emphasized the vertical links in the social structure and found expression in heightened patron-client relations. This tendency is reflected in the fact that kinship terminology in heavily-populated areas appears to emphasize rank distinctions more than is the case in less-populated areas. The crucial alternative relations with an individual's classificatory fathers on the one hand, and his own matrilineage elders on the other hand, constitute an important dimension of social values that appear repeatedly in the course of this study.

The horticultural pattern of the Manianga is similar to that in much of South-Central Africa. Women cultivate the shifting savanna plots and men work the forests. Grassland normally remains dormant from five to eight years between plantings, but all land is vital space. Thus annually at planting time there is a noticeable influx of land boundary cases in the local courts. It is at this same time that the patron-client relations are contracted and solidarized as the former allocates land to the latter.

The tools used in cultivation are the short-handled hoe and, particularly with the men, the machette. Women provide the staples of manioc, yams, beans, peanuts, and gourd seeds, while the men make the most of forest plots and trees, focussing on the palm (Elaeis guineensis), provider of oil, wine, and fibres. The symbolically most significant tree in some areas is the nsafu (Canarium schweinfurthii) which every male plants in his youth and regards as a sort of alter-ego of manliness and political acumen to be protected from rivals. Nsafu fruit stealing and tree cutting are recognized modes of political assertion and expansion. Other fruit trees such as the orange, lemon, and grapefruit, although present a long time already, recently have begun to be increasingly important cash crops. Truck crops of potatoes, pineapples, tomatoes, cabbages, and other vegetables are sold in season at the local markets and would, with better outside marketing facilities and outlets to the towns and cities provide a significant cash income. The traditional sexual division of labor in agriculture continues to hold for the older crops, and income from agriculture goes to the one who has done the labor.

Few extended virgin forests remain today in the Manianga. This is due not so much to the exploitation of trees for lumber as to the imposition of crops upon the population by the colonial government, crops which required undue clearing of trees. The government sought to "make farmers" of the people, and as early as 1931-32 it imposed the cash crop of Urena lobata fibres. Until 1953 fibres constituted the major income of the area, both for the population as well as for the European merchants who served as middle-men. As long as new forest land could be cleared the tonnage increased so that by 1950 annual production of fibres in the Manianga had reached nearly 2,500 tons, sold at the time for 15 to 25 francs (30 to 40 cents) per kilo. By 1953, however, because of the rapid decline in the international price of fibres to less than 5 francs per kilo locally, production declined under the discouragement of the population subjected to the corvee (Nicolai 1961:62). Today fibres have been totally abandoned and everyone greatly laments the needless destruction of forests. While dividends were impressive earlier, there was considerable resentment over crop imposition; the widespread opinion in this regard is that the corvee was merely a means by which the government could collect a larger head tax and the foreign merchants get rich quickly.

Agricultural and commercial development is much discussed in the Manianga and the inhabitants have a keen awareness of the undeveloped resources in their land. They realize that proper development of market outlets would provide an impetus to well rounded local production. Too often crops must rot in the fields because of lack of transportation facilities. The vascillation from one year to the next between a comfortable income because somebody came by at the right time with a truck and no income because there were no merchants interested in coming, has both hardened the Manianga peasant to the arduous realities of life and awakened in him the realization that there is a better way of life. Such exacerbation has contributed its share to the political consciousness of the area.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC POLITICS OF THE MANIANGA: AN EXAMPLE OF PROCESS AND STRUCTURE IN CONTEMPORARY MIDDLE-RANGE ASSOCIATIONS

The Issue

Although the principal concern of this study is with "elemental categories, symbols, and ideas of association," a focus which will take us to a conventional social structural analysis of the primary institutions in Manianga society, its heuristic aim and the analytical procedure equally involves a concern with explaining the myriad of associations in Manianga social history. This chapter, therefore, seeks to relate briefly the historical background of economic or economic-related associations which emerged during the latter years of the colonial era in the Manianga, and, increasingly following independence in 1960, came to express general political processes of the region. While an even longer background of similar associational activity has existed in religious domains, it has seemed preferable to concentrate here on developments which are more telescoped in years and sufficiently current to give the subject of associations the attention it deserves in the political matrix of independent Congolese society.

The background of associational activity in the Manianga shows that prior to 1921 the traditional Lemba elite association, linking judges, important lineage headmen, and healers, extended over the entire region of today's Manianga, effectively forming a federation of otherwise isolated small settlements. From 1921 on a number of religious sects, constituting the forbears of the contemporary native churches, extended throughout the area. From 1953 on various attempts were made to organize marketing and industrial cooperatives under the aegis of a "Manianga" ethos. Most recently, Manianga political selfconsciousness has been identified and somewhat institutionalized through the creation of the Manianga Council, a loosely-linked elitist organization formed in 1958 to defend the interests of the Manianga region within the framework of the broader Bakongo ethnic party, the Alliance of the Bakongo (ABAKO). After numerous internal "dynastic" changes within the Council, Manianga regional identity has crystalized outside ABAKO, and in good measure against it.

These associations, whether of a traditional type such as the Lemba, or of a distinctly more modern bent such as the Manianga Council, have served the purpose of both embodying as well as promulgating the identity which Maniangans have with one another and with their region. They are expressive of what Geertz has termed "primoridal ties" (Geertz 1963:105-57); they express ultimate loyalty of a holistic community of individuals, along with their more explicit aims in economics, religion, or politics.

Distinctive from, although certainly consonant with, such values of identity and ultimate attachment, these associations have manifested certain common instrumental values relating to organization, to the allocation of authority, and the disposition of power. They have evidenced, in other words, a common political culture. Although this study of limited scope will not be able to do full justice to the empirical evidence of such a common culture among the various associations, it is hoped that a cursory look at the economic politics of the Manianga will provide support to the contention that models of organization of all Manianga society stem from the same essential principles. While at first only an intuitive assumption, this contention was validated during field research from 1965-66 on both primary institutions such as the kinship system, the lineage, the village, the division of labor and worship, as well as those Manianga associations cited here. Not only did it become evident that largely similar models of organization exist in all aspects of Manianga society, but also that these models originate in large part from the primary institutions, where we find the clearest expression of the holistic society involving multiplex relations between individuals. The associations, in particular the cooperatives and the Manianga "tribal" council, because they bring together individuals in an ultimate concern of developing and defending "their" common region, evidence a similar holistic organizational body of relations, property values, language, and history.

In the subsequent discussion I relate first the background of Manianga identity as it emerged from colonial structures and policies. Then I relate the nature of uniquely Maniangan economic politics, and conclude with an analysis of why the processual form of such politics developed as it did.

The Colonial Factor in Manianga Economic and Commercial Organization

From the beginning of serious European interest in the Lower Congo, the Manianga was destined to its own rather unique kind of isolation.

The drawing up of arbitrary colonial state boundaries (see fig. 2) at the Berlin Conference of 1885 relegated the Manianga to a remote and inaccessible corner of the administrative and economic orbit which is today Congo-Kinshasa, even though it is more easily accessible from Congo-Brazzaville to the north. The autonomous economic evolution of each colony, and the occasional political divisiveness made commerce and trade along this channel difficult to develop. Nevertheless commerce with the north was always present. Even at the height of post-independence conflict between the two Congo regimes from 1963 to 1965, "illicit" commerce was constantly being done across the northern borders of the Manianga into Congo-Brazzaville. In 1962 a provincial deputy of the northern Manianga area sought, albeit unsuccessfully, to annex his district to Congo-Brazzaville. The national government put a stop to this "rebellious" plan and thereby once again made it necessary for development schemes to consider the Manianga politically, if not geographically, plainly within the economic circuits to the south. Yet viewed from the south, the most populous part of the Manianga lies behind rugged terrain not easily penetrated by roads essential to commercial development.

This paradoxical isolation going to the roots of Manianga identity in contemporary times already developed early in colonial history. While effectively isolated by natural and political factors, the area nevertheless lay close enough to early centers of construction, trade, and government so that its inhabitants could emigrate to find work without ever leaving home too far behind, or without making frequent returns home impossible. Although providing a share of the labor for the construction of early railroads, governmental, and private projects, Manianga society was not demoralized by the methods of labor recruitment and displacement of persons experienced south and eastward across the river where many villages were virtually destroyed.

Once the railroads had been established however, the isolation of the Manianga served only to hamper economic development as compared to those areas having received transportation and communication, irrespective of the cost. There rail and auto-roads brought European merchants and made evacuation of local products such as palm oil, manioc, and peanuts possible. From 1900 to 1930 the Manianga came to be surrounded on three sides by railways from twenty-five to fifty miles distant of its borders. In order to benefit at all from these points of market exchange, the Maniangans needed to port all their goods on foot east to Thysville, west to the Mayombe, or north to Mindouli. The Colonial Office estimated that in 1925 nearly 3000 tons of palm nuts had been carried out of the Manianga by foot porters in one year alone (Congo V:651-76).[1] By 1928, according to the same source, Luozi (the Manianga) had exported 5000 tons of palm oil and nuts to markets at Songololo to the south and the Mayombe to the west. (To this must be added the unrecorded export to the north and east in the French Congo.) Peanut exports were estimated at 300 tons, tobacco at 50 tons, and beans at 50 tons. Also included in the estimates were sheep and pigs (IX:714-29). The export estimates from 1920-30 must be considered as constituting an expansion from the traditional small market economy, in an attempt by the population to trade surplus goods for merchandise such as cloth, gunpowder, hardware, sugar, and salt. The export estimates also indicate the productive potential of the region in terms of agricultural goods, and the response of the population to a broader cash economy.

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[1] These estimates appear to be exaggerated, but they offer a point of comparison with other areas.

The first European merchants came to Luozi in 1929. Transportation was arduous. Palm by-products were exported by boat from Luozi along the Congo river to a suitable pick-up place where access was close to a railroad. The high overhead expense of commerce in Luozi prohibited the merchants there from offering prices comparable to those made at larger centers. Thus as of 1929 the Manianga people had the option of either selling their produce for a lesser price at Luozi or of porting it on foot as before for a higher price. The fact that in 1929, the year a buyer's center was set up in Luozi, only 161 tons of palm nuts and oil were sold there, while over an estimated 4000 were ported elsewhere, indicates that the local citizenry was still willing to suffer the hardship of seventy-five mile foot trips for a few additional francs (XII:293-313). By 1935, however, long-distance foot portage outside of the territory had almost disappeared. In 1938 the Fleming merchant Jan Van Lanker had opened a center in Luozi, and he was soon followed by the Portuguese merchant Ribero, the two of which from then on dominated economic activity in the Manianga. By 1940 they had opened further centers in such places as Kivunda in the most heavily-populated hinterland.

Economic expansion followed the lines of policy of the colony, i.e., to open an area by making it attractive to European merchants.

Economic development was supposed to occur as merchants extended commercial relations with the population. Similarly, cultural development in the domains of religion and education was charged to the mission societies. Application of colonial policies was contingent on which merchants and missions were encouraged or discouraged. Thus, although the Protestant Svenska Missionsforbundet (The Swedish Reformed Mission Society) had been present at Kibunzi and Kingoyi in the Luozi Territory since 1887, no roads were constructed to accomodate their efforts until much later. By contrast, just three years after the large Catholic Redemptorist Mission Mangembo was opened in the North-Manianga in 1926 eight miles distant from the Swedish Mission of Nsundi-Lutete, a road was opened there. The Western Manianga, exclusively influenced by the Swedish missions, did not receive roads until the late forties. Economic and commercial facilities were thus developed along sectarian lines, and in keeping with the Belgian civilizing mission, conceived as a fully-rounded confrontation with all areas of native life.

Only by 1950 had major roads, improved in places with a laterite surface, been built to extend across the Luozi Territory from south to north and from east to west. These had been constructed by local, often forced, manual labor. Feeder roads extending into the villages were constructed and maintained in a similar manner. Voluntary labor was expected of all village males except the notables, e.g., the secteur council members; four men were expected to repair one kilometer per week. Recalcitrance was punishable by a week's imprisonment and a fine. As might be expected, these measures were resented by the villagers and many preferred to spend their week in prison to working the roads. To meet lassitude in this area, the colony further imposed voluntary construction and upkeep of the secteur prisons on the population. By 1956 the resistence to forced voluntary roadwork had become so acute that corvee labor policies were suspended and cantonniers hired to keep up the roads. To meet the expenses of this move, since all local facilities were paid from the secteur treasury, taxes were raised 40 to 50 per cent locally (Registre Politique (Kivunda), February 6, 1956). Prior to this time the colony had expected up to sixty days of voluntary labor per year of every "homme adult et valable", one of the more important census categories, for obvious reasons (Sourdillat 1940:167).

Concurrent with the resentment of the villagers in building roads which would merely further colonial administrative activities however, there was a general awareness that opening the villages to merchants' vehicles would benefit them. The problem of maintaining commercial facilities such as roads lay, more importantly, in what could be called the misplaced incentive to work; specifically, in the commercial relations of European merchant to Congolese peasant, and in the forced cultivation of cash crops. In theory the peasants were permitted to sell their produce to whomever they pleased. However in fact there was often a regional hegemony of the merchant. It was the European merchant who could refuse to buy local products, and not the villager who could hold out in selling. The guidelines of local commerce were appropriately stated in one colonial report: "Since we were concerned here with a politics of collaboration (the native plants and harvests, the European buys, transforms the product and exports it), a rational equilibrium will be established in the framework of freedom" (1940:159).

Yet too frequently the "collaboration" between European merchant and native resembled a one-way dependence of the latter upon the former. Insult was added to injury in that the colonial government imposed cash crops such as the Urena fibres which would be profitable to the merchants and ultimately to the secteur coffers through taxes.

The Maniangans, finally, resented that aspect of colonial rule which certain officials called "educational"; in 1951 when the Munkukusa purification rites had distracted many villagers from their cultivation, the Territorial Administrator warned the native secteur council of Kivunda that this movement was a "reversion to superstition," that it undercut the economic life of the area and ruined health because of the excess in drink, dance, and fatigue it produced. He warned against any disrespect of authority, and advised that the people would draw the consequences of their own "stupidity." If they were interested in becoming civilized, they must learn a lesson from the Europeans and work a little harder (Régistre Politique (Kivunda), September 18, 1951).

Resentment of imposed agricultural work was heightened by the fact that certain types of cash crops alien to the traditional horticulture were required. The Urena fibers were particularly resented because they depleted what few forests remained in the Manianga. The Manianga secteur registers indicate that already shortly after the Second World War council members frequently lodged muted protests before the Territorial officials because of the villagers' inability to sell common agricultural commodities such as manioc, peanuts, palm products, and small livestock. These were traditional items which fitted the local rhythm and division of labor. With governmental assistance, it was argued, they could become viable cash crops to be exported to the increasingly-active town and city markets.

But the administration held to its preference for cash crops of fibers throughout the fiftys, hoping thereby to accomodate the European merchants and to augment the secteur treasuries. Continuing its line of policy that fibers constituted the most advantageous income for the Manianga, the government opened a paysannat[1] in 1950 in a fertile, sparsely-inhabited valley in the western half of the Luozi Territory, focussing primarily on the mechanized cultivation of fibers. With deep plowing, good soil, and fertilizer additives it was shown that fibers could be grown on savanna soil. But hand labor was still required;

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[1] The peasant's collective was the colonial government's experimental response to the challenge offered in linking local resources to mechanized technology. As a rule the paysannat system proved weakest in resolving certain cultural and economic problems. The land chiefs of the area taken over usually became troublesome, since, in the traditional sense land is never totally inalienable. Few of the paysannats came anywhere near economic self-sufficiency in 1960, and the burden of machine up-keep proved insurmountable in many cases. Because of this, many paysannats elsewhere have been abandoned. In the case of the Luala Valley paysannat cited here, however, a series of moves by the members and by outside concerns has rescued the operation. Congolese directors have been placed in charge, and certain oppressive labor practices have been dropped. A sense of responsibility has been achieved on the part of the interns in that shortly after independence they were faced with leaving or with contributing on their own to necessary finances to repair the machinery. Each intern contributed 10,000 francs toward machine repairs, a move that has solidarized the paysannat as a community. The land tenure issue has been solved through an annual tribute paid to the land chiefs on the basis of traditional crop, water, and settlement right acquisitions. The earlier specialization on fibers has been reduced and other crops, as well as livestock, have become increasingly important. In 1963 the European Common Market lent its financial backing to the venture and provided a mechanic. Since independence intern membership has risen to about 500 individuals.

villagers were invited, and in some cases obligated, to settle in the paysannat where they were told they could earn far more than ordinarily. The government-sponsored Cooperative of Agricultural Products of the Luala (COPAL) was formed with the understanding that members, i.e., the paysans of the new settlement, would sell their products only through the channels provided by the cooperative and, of course, benefit accordingly. Response to the paysannat however was feeble. After three years of operation, although many people had been interested in the project as a new idea in agricultural organization, only 200 persons had volunteered for membership.

But by and large even throughout the years from 1948 to 1952 when the fibers brought peak prices, discontentment with the corvee policy rose steadily. Thus in 1953, when the fiber prices dropped to a third of the previous year's level following a decline in international prices, a major crisis ensued in relations between the government and the Manianga population. Many refused to harvest the fiber crops, risking instead the penal sanctions incumbent upon them (Régistre Politique, September 18, 1951; August 30, 1952; September 24, 1953; October 24, 1953). Recognizing the hazards of monocultural cash crop after the 1953 decline in fiber prices, the government began to emphasize other cash incomes such as coffee and fisheries, although the fiber cultivation remained obligatory until 1956.

From Economy to Polity, 1953-1966

A group of northern Manianga farmers, teachers, and merchants, however, had other ideas, and in 1953 launched a movement to form the Cooperative of Agricultural Producers of the Manianga (COPAM), a marketing cooperative somewhat along the lines of COPAL, which would emphasize the sale of staple food crops such as manioc, peanuts, and palm products instead of alien cash crops. The scale of operations was limited geographically to three secteurs of the Kivunda area (Balari, Kivunda, and Kimbanza) but initial response on the part of the population was quite favorable. By 1955 over two-thousand persons had joined, each contributing at least the minimal dues of 500 francs. Local traditional markets were revived in the buying-station system, and from 1956 on, for a few years, cultivation of the staples increased in the villages.[1] A truck was rented at 10 francs per kilometer from one of the few local Congolese merchants, and periodically quantities of palm oil, manioc, and peanuts were transported to Mindouli in Congo-Brazzaville where they were shipped by rail by Brazzaville and then across the river to Leopoldville. Although this route of transportation entailed a considerable amount of inconvenience, the cooperative succeeded in eliminating any other middle-man between itself and the active Leopoldville markets. In the latter fiftys, manioc, for example, brought at least twice as much in the city as in the country. After two seasons of successful operation, however, the Manianga agriculture marketing cooperative faced its first major crisis. A brief review of the government's attitude toward indigenous commerce brings this out.

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[1] One of the interesting consequences of the sudden influx in marketability of subsistence commodities, particularly of manioc and peanuts, was that the women, customarily the principal cultivators of these products, also acquired an unprecedented affluence. It was not uncommon in 1958-59 for wives to have more cash than their husbands. In fact in the 1958 season there was a tendency to over-sell subsistence commodities so that a shortage of food occurred. The following year more manioc and peanuts were cultivated to avert this crisis, yet to benefit from the newly-acquired market in the urban center.

Although the colonial administration had licensed many native merchants and given a few cooperatives financial help, the local administration reacted to COPAM with suspicion initially. Organizational meetings from 1953 to 1955 had been held in semi-secrecy or at least without the request of governmental advice. Territorial officials chided the secteur councils for not having informed them, and wanted to know why the people would follow a potential extortionist when more competent European merchants and governmental officers were available to assist them. In time, however, the government accorded the cooperative a civil status, and appointed the provincial inspector of native economic organizations to audit and counsel the new establishment. In 1959 the cooperative applied for a government loan for the purchase of its own truck and manioc refining facilities; but again, the administration responded negatively, suggesting that the villagers should sell their produce to the European merchants of the area. Furthermore, the cooperative had violated the proper bureaucratic norms in bypassing Territorial authorities to deal directly with Provincial officials. COPAM officials felt that this response reflected bad faith on the part of the administration; furthermore, they sensed that it did not want them to profit from the urban markets to the exclusion of established European merchants.

Administrative refusal to grant the cooperative a loan, coupled with a vehicle accident removing the truck from service, contributed to the precarious position of COPAM by 1960. More seriously, perhaps, a growing disaffection developed between the cooperative members who had not yet received any dividends, and the directors, whose own political ambitions had drawn them beyond the local sphere of activities. These latter were accused of inactivity. Evidence established by a peoples' council in 1963 substantiated the accusation of rather damaging inefficiency of management and perhaps even embezzlement, although in the opinion of this writer the real problem lay in a widening gap between political expectations of the directors, which bordered on visionary hopes, and the hard facts of difficult economic realities.

In any case, the turbulent political events of 1959-60, more than anything else, doomed the cooperative. Yet in another sense these events were of utmost importance in the over-all political evolution of the Manianga in that they reflected the increasing politicization of all higher organizational activities of any kind, a fact which needed to be dealt with. It was as if the political equilibrium that had for so many years been characterized by a vacuum, now needed final solution.

Because of their influence locally, the COPAM founders and directors were also the men who by and large constituted the local ABAKO party hierarchy. Political exigencies of 1960, and the impending elections of June of that year, introduced competition and divisiveness into the ranks of the cooperative. Realizing that economic leadership had once brought them popularity, they now sought to expand in yet another direction. Caught between the apparent failure of the original cooperative and the widening horizons of post-independence possibilities, they sought, in 1960, to launch a revised version of the old organization in what would be a Manianga-wide cooperative, serving as an umbrella organization for smaller cooperatives such as COPAM and COPAL. The new cooperative, in turn, would be one of a series of Territorial intermediary units within the trans-Kongo cooperative structured within the ABAKO party. Both prior to and following independence, 1960 was the year of political centralization and integration in keeping with higher-scale activity of the Kongo party. An attempt was underway to make of the Bakongo people an economic polity. As could be expected, position-taking and manuevering often far outweighed attention to practical concerns.

Late in 1960 the directors of COPAM, in an attempt to save the cooperative they had erected as well as to extend their economic-political control to a Manianga-wide organization, laid the groundwork of political allies in the Manianga countryside; they also presented their plans of expansion to the urban Manianga Council for approval and financial support. The Council, however, quite aware of the failures of COPAM, tacitly went along with the organizers, but in the opening meeting of the new enlarged Manianga cooperative at Luozi early in 1961, ousted the incumbent leaders and established the framework of a new economic association, the Cooperative Society of the Manianga (SOCOMAN), the most important enclave within the urban-based Manianga Council. Using their independent purchase of a Portuguese-owned palm oil refinery in the Manianga (see fig. 3) as their trump card, they were able to rally a considerable support to their side, and to further ruin the reputation of the original COPAM founders.

Following 1960 the pace of events relating to Manianga economic organization quickened. I shall summarize only the lines of development relevant to the present purpose of showing how economic politics reflected certain patterns of consistent behavior. The most significant single

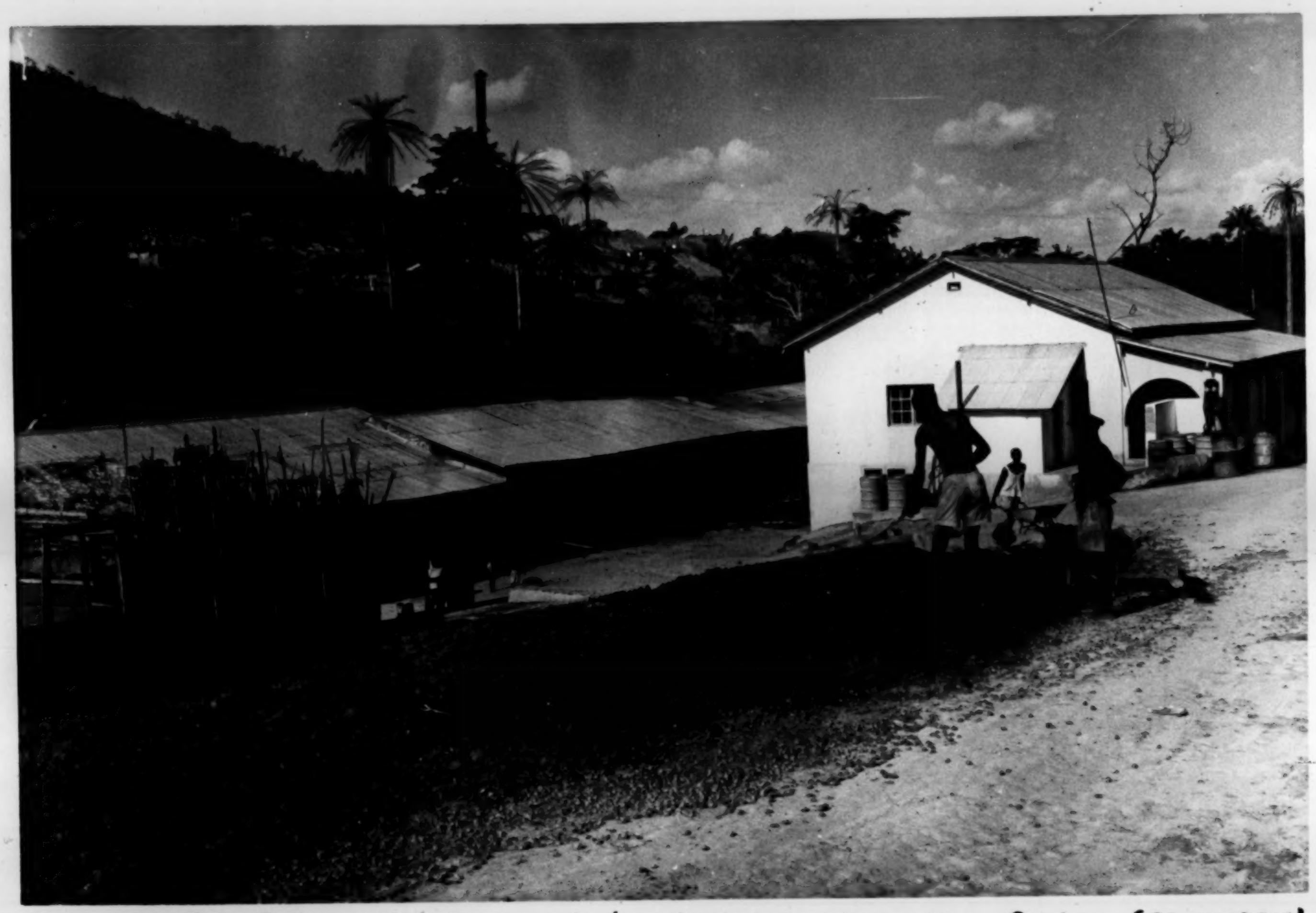

Fig. 3.— Palm oil refinery of the Maniangа Cooperative Society (SOCOMAN)

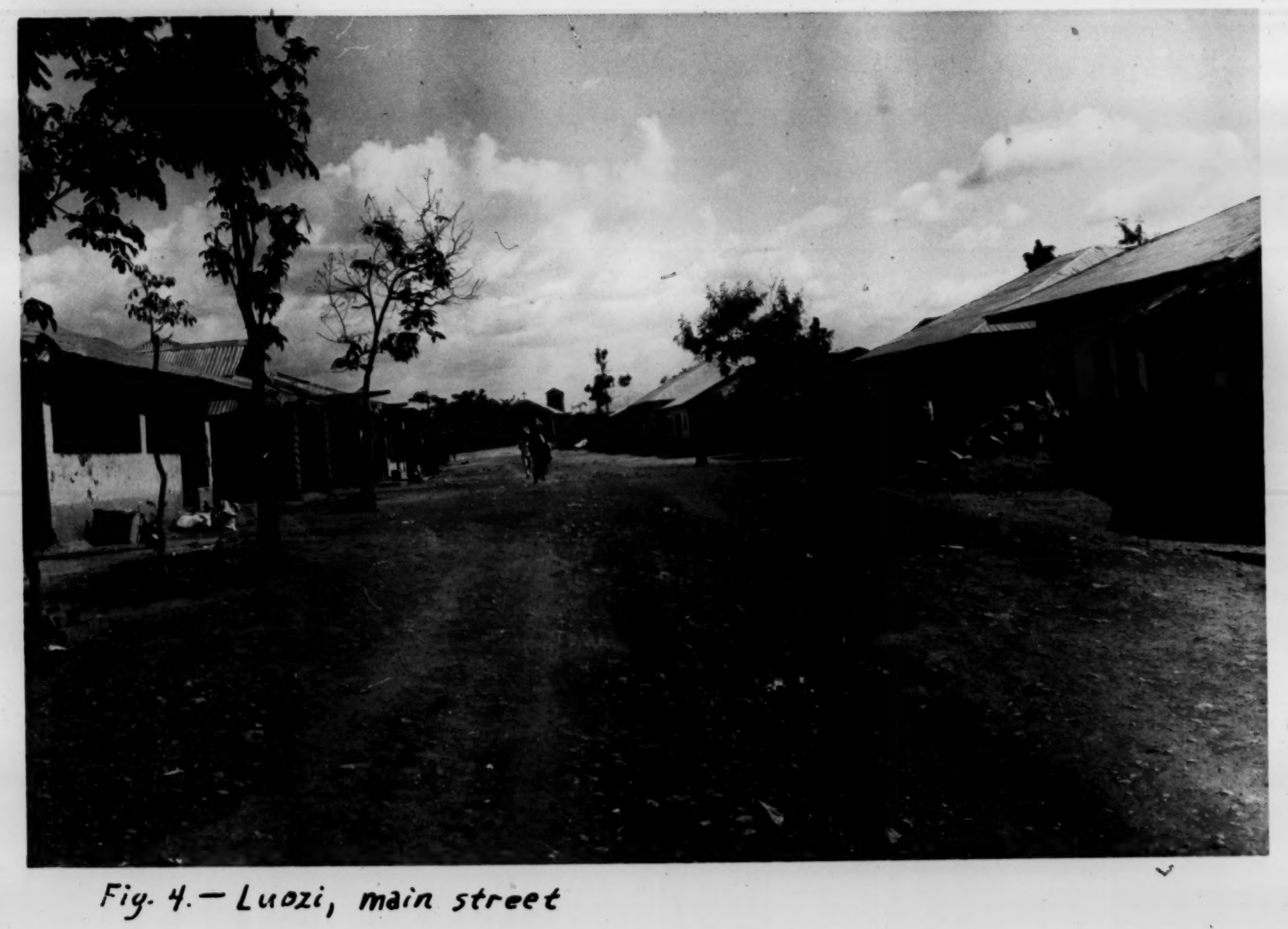

Fig. 4.— Luozi, main street

trend in the post-1960 era, in this connection, was the increasing political function of ostensible economic or commercial structures such as the Cooperative Society of the Manianga (SOCOMAN). By "political" I mean the "making and carrying out of decisions regarding public policy, by institutional means" (Turner 1966:243). SOCOMAN had been first conceived in late 1960 as the Manianga-wide commercial successor of the Kivunda cooperative (COPAM), but in time it developed into a framework of political debate over regional economic improvement. Such politicization of publicly-recognized structures was of course widespread in the Lower Congo at the time.

Behind the competition over who should control economic structures, and how they should be developed, there occurred another parallel trend also widespread in Congolese institutions in other areas, namely, of effective consolidation of power in the hands of a few individuals. Within the urban-based Manianga Council (CSM) the clique which had wrested control of the Manianga Cooperative Society from the hands of its founders, proceeded following mid-1961 to utilize the quasi-public functions of the cooperative to bolster its strength within the Manianga Council to the exclusion and consternation of many Maniangans who participated in the Council. The political stakes of Council leadership involved more than merely the control of rural commerce; ties with the controlling elements of the ABAKO party were advantageous because these latter dominated Lower Congo administrative bureaus. The success of the Manianga Council's 1961 leadership in taking control of the Manianga Cooperative had hinged on an ABAKO loan with strings attached. Effective control of the

Manianga Council's policy and its activities thus was contingent on fostering the proper relations with the ABAKO-controlled Provincial government. Consolidation within ABAKO, as has already been suggested, occurred gradually from 1961 on as Moanda, who became governor eventually with the creation of the Kongo Central province in 1963, had limited the functions of the party youth-wings, the Territorial Council of mayors, and opposition parties.

Consolidation of power of the Manianga Council and in ABAKO, however, was followed closely by a growing opposition at both levels against what was ritually termed by some as the "sapping of strength" of the organization, a term taken from witchcraft lore meaning essentially that the legitimacy of the leaders was being questioned. At the level of the provincial government consolidation of power led to an increasingly autocratic type of administration. Able to control the elections of 1965, the incumbent governor was able, although with difficulty, to retain his office into the second legislature. Lacking the bureaucratic machinery and the police of the Provincial Government, consolidation of power within the Manianga Council by the 1961 clique provoked a different, although essentially related, sequel of events. Following 1961 the Manianga Council, actually comprised of all interested persons originating from or still resident in the Manianga, proceeded so that every major step requiring policy-making provoked what we may call a coup d'état against the leadership, and a replacing of the former heads by another competing clique without, however, noticeably altering the make-up or the membership of the Council at large.

The broad lines of Maniangà consolidation of power show that by 1962 most of the crucial offices in the Manianga Council, ABAKO of Luozi Territory, and the Manianga Cooperative had gravitated into the hands of a few individuals. As power increased, opposition sharpened. In 1963 a movement calling itself the Union of Manianga Intellectuals (UDIMA) organized to remove their "elders" from office. They were joined by another splinter group within the Council, the Vital Forces of the Manianga, in 1964. Both groups were rigorously opposed by the de jure Manianga Council and the Provincial Government; in late 1964, following even a threat of force against them by the government, they nevertheless succeeded in consolidating loyalties sufficiently to oust the former direction of the Council legitimately before an open assembly of Maniangans. The new leadership, having proved their point, quietly stepped aside in early 1965 when all the major factions of the Council reached a compromise agreement on how best to fact the challenge of national elections of that year. Another committee was installed. These men then organized an ad hoc "primary election" in the Manianga, in muted conflict with ABAKO-Luozi which had forwarded its own candidates.

A third coup occurred within the Council shortly following the elections of March, 1965 when it became apparent that the then-current leadership had not succeeded in placing many competent Manianga individuals within the government, and had, in fact, probably consorted clandestinely with ABAKO heads for their own advantage. The most recent crisis of leadership within the Council arose in early 1966 when it became necessary, according to national governmental laws, to renew the statutes of the

Council as an association. Two factions, drawn again along new lines within the Council body, vied for the right to draw up the statues. The group that emerged with the prize this time was the one which managed to submit its version to the government first. This group placed itself totally against ABAKO and the provincial government, and its head admitted to this writer in March of 1966 that under their direction the Manianga Council was probably a full-fledged political party however much it hid behind its "associational" facade to avoid sanctions of the Mobutu government which had ruled all political parties of any kind illegal following the national coup d'état of November, 1965.

The over-all political development of the Manianga from 1950 to 1966 indicates an early concern with economic development in the Manianga, but a gradual separation of effective commercial organizational functions to organization for the sake of controlling all aspects of public function within the Manianga population, both rural and urban. Only indirectly do the later years of political give and take in the Manianga Council have anything to do with actual commerce in, or with, the rural Luozi region.

Generally, individuals who had joined first the Kivunda cooperative (COPAM), then, on seeing it falter, the Manianga-wide cooperative (SOCOMAN), only to see it too remain ineffectual because of the volatile and political character of all activities of the directorship,[1] have become for the moment dissillusioned with large-scale cooperatives of any kind. The most effective commercial units have turned out to be (1) private and somewhat secretive small-scale holding companies similar in organization to the traditional ntwadi in which a few persons confide their money to one individual who has proven his capabilities in livestock raising, farming, commerce, and in one case printing; (2) small-scale cooperatives restricted in membership to a few adult men who are backed by their kinsmen along the lines of the traditional kitemo rotating credit association in which each member, assisted financially by his backers whether they be kinsmen or associates, contributes to the common pool every round and draws his dividends periodically which are distributed proportionately among his backers; (3) the revamped lineage which is able collectively to divert funds from the ritual-oriented coffer toward investment; and finally (4) the private individual skilled and experienced in the imbroglio of Congolese economic affairs.

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[1] Part of the commercial inactivity of the Manianga cooperative (SOCOMAN) has derived from the difficulty in maintaining the machines of the palm-oil refinery, the main source of its income. Not once since organization have the 500-some members received dividends. The direction

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has been over-staffed and income barely surpasses operating expenses. The cooperative was able to purchase a new truck in 1965, largely on small-scale commerce income, but importation of sorely-needed repair parts for the refinery has been held up by the restrictive import quotas granted by the national Ministry of Finances. (The cooperative president confided to me that even a bribe of a good many thousand francs had not helped here). A measurable cause, however, of the cooperative's failure to live up to its expectations among the Manianga populace has been the negotiations the president has carried on since 1965 with an European mining firm, using the cooperative's superstructure as a channel by which he and a select few individuals can benefit from exploitation of minerals in the region. Many persons within the Manianga Council have construed this as a dissident movement, re-enacting the "hiving-off" pattern of earlier organizations.

Structural Variables in Manianga Economic and Political Associations

As unfortunate as the failure of higher-level economic and political associations to contribute immediately and directly to the Manianga economy has been, the recent history of associational activity is highly instructive for an analytical understanding of corporative culture. Temporary economic failure, or near failure, has come at a time when political scores needed to be resolved subsequent to the virtual political vacuum of the colonial period. Behind the breakdown or the fragmentation of real economic structures, then, we find the gradual development of institutions expressive of prevailing Maniangan and Kongo political culture. This short history of associational activity can be summed up in analytical terms as follows.

Failure to coordinate widescale productive and commercial facilities within associations such as the Kivunda cooperative, and later within the Manianga cooperative and the Manianga Council, was paralleled by an increasing trend of these associations to lose their functionally-specific character and to become associations of a multiplex nature. Originally, in the early fifties, the issue that brought the Kivunda cooperative into existence was the straight-forward one of providing a viable alternative to the colonial governmental policy on cash incomes. Congolese were united in opposition to the colonial government. Although the very organization of this early cooperative entailed certain political functions, it was not until higher-level politics became possible, and the hope of autonomy immanent, that the cooperative structure itself absorbed certain issues having little to do with marketing. A once homogeneous local hierarchy of cooperative officials, regional élite, and merchants became politicized when, for example, the elections of 1959 and 1960 took place. Contrary to colonial expectations, and to the disadvantage of the cooperative, elections introduced the element of competition for local offices and control of government mechanisms (Cf. Hodgkin 1961:37). The expanded role of the Kongo party after 1957 certainly emphasized this politicizing tendency.

As already suggested, there was a tendency for associations to be transformed from functional specificity to functional multiplexity, a trend Wallerstein has stated holds true to most associations in Tropical Africa following independence (Coleman and Rosberg 1966:339). The Manianga associations not only reflected politicization within their confines, but they came to serve as open forums for the very expression of conflict (Bailey 1965:6); increasingly they played the dual role of embodying both the basis for cohesion or integration of the Manianga as a total society as well as that of quarrels and conflict (Turner 1966:239).

Consonant with this, perhaps even causing it, another development of importance may be noted. Increasingly the successive associations of the Manianga expressed the emergence of the Manianga as a self-conscious regional and ethnic entity, a micro-nationalism demanding ultimate loyalty of the Manianga people. The development of primordial attachment of individual to region, and individual to individual, further accentuated the tendency of the associations to become primal rather than voluntary groups. It is significant in this connection that whereas the corporate charter of the Kivunda cooperative (COPAM) contained numerous clauses delineating the nature of voluntary membership, the most recent Manianga Council statutes drawn up in 1965 and approved by the government in 1966 explicitly state that "all individuals of the Manianga tribe are admitted"; membership is thus assumed. More attention is given to the rules and regulations binding upon members of the central committee, and how decisions and conflicts within this body are to be handled.

A final characteristic affecting the organizational process of the Manianga associations may be noted. There is a close correspondence between the nature of membership recruitment, itself a reflection of the function and ideology of the association, and the manner in which conflict and decision within the association come to be structured. In other terms, the nature of the political process varies with respect to the overall functional mode of the association.

In the more functionally-specific associations such as the early Kivunda cooperative and the most recent Manianga cooperative, decisions are reached by consensus within the restricted social boundaries of directors and officers, an enclave of close associates with controlling interests; conflicts of a more serious nature involving policy differences invariably result in the "hiving off" of a few individuals to form a new organization, often for the ostensible purpose of expanding activities in a domain not pursued by the "parent" association. The succession of organizational enclaves clustered about first marketing, then the palm-oil refining industry, and finally mining interest, exemplifies the process of "hiving", not to be confused with segmentation or even factionalism.

The point to be noted here is that where member recruitment is voluntary, and does not entail any effectual sanctioning forces, conflict both invites and engenders organizational renewal in the form of a totally fresh start in an attempt to eliminate rivals and to reformulate a body in which consensus, the prerequisite of action, is again possible (Bailey 1965:2). Although sheer size may be a factor here, it is more probable that the specific nature of the enterprise, and the manner in which membership is recruited, play the predominating roles in determining the processual form of conflict expression and resolution.

By contrast, in the functionally-multiplex associations, the best example of which is the Manianga Council, decisions are commonly arrived at by "two-thirds" majority voting of all "members" present, although certainly here, as Bailey contends with respect to Indian Councils, such votes constitute more of an acclamation or legitimation of a decision drawn elsewhere, either in the central committee or in an opposing faction (1965:2). This penchant for voting in decision-making, reveals the major difference between the Manianga Council, a large body of involuntary make-up, and the smaller functionally-specific cooperatives. Policy decisions, proposals for concerted action as in the elections of 1965, and conflict resolution proceeds here by opposition rather than be consensus. Inevitably initiative comes through the formation of a small clique within the elite Manianga populace. Conflict is not resolved by "hiving off" as in the economic associations, but by factional assertion to power, and recruitment of support among the differentiated membership. Arising from this, then, is the dramatic series of successive central committee coups crystalized not so much on continuous factions, but on issues. That is, each successive controlling central committee lost its prerogative to authority on the basis of alleged mishandling of the particular major issue--e.g., election, economic program it had initiated. Factional lines at various stages of the council's history were drawn not so much along the lines of closed enclaves of individuals, but along oppositions of aged and youth, those participating in government and those alienated from these sources, and so on.

The variables noted in associational organization can be illustrated graphically in the following manner:

		Corporate Identity	
		A. Functionally-specific goals; voluntary recruitment.	B. Functionally-multiplex goals; membership assumed.
Instrumental Values	1. "Hiving-Off"; consensus decisions.	Early cooperatives; religious sects, etc.	
	2. Factions; vote decisions; central committee coups.		Manianga Council.

Fig. 5.--Structural Variables in Associational Organization

The central question to be posed in the face of the briefly-analyzed associational behavior of Maniangans is whether we have to do here with something essentially innovative or not. Certainly the existence of a body such as the Manianga Council is unprecedented. But the more relevant concern, and that to which this study is addressed, is whether or not, or to what degree, the instrumental values of organization and political process embody principles differing from those exercised in village, lineage, and traditional associational life.

Before the evidence of Manianga associations and councils we are confronted with two levels of phenomena. There is that arising from behavioral conditions such as functional specificity or multiplexity, from sheer size variations, or from the mode of membership recruitment. All these are amenable to social structural interpretation. On the other hand there are certain factors derived directly from ideas germaine to the Kongo which are more or less culturally-given. One is hard put to explain why "hiving" from an economic association is regarded by many individuals as witchcraft, tribalism, or even communism. Before this level of phenomena it is necessary to go back to conventional structures such as the "social circle" and the accompanying rationale of consensus and hierarchy before comprehension of modern associational behavior is forthcoming.

A common error in the study of contemporary African associations to date has been to explain the entire phenomenon in terms of urbanization, the degeneration of traditional society, or rising individualism. What has frequently been ommitted from consideration is that even the traditional associations such as the Lemba were based on ideas or models of organization far more deeply held than any particular empirical social manifestation. Then also contemporary associations such as urban tribal councils have been assumed to be antithetical, or contrasting, to such corporate entities as the village, the lineage, and the like; thus it has not been common to include both in the same analysis. This problem of convenient isolation of a phenomenon assumed to be distinct has been properly recognized by Banton recently when he stated that "it is unusual for research to be designed to investigate the characteristics of associations in preliterate or developing societies, though frequently the significance of associational activity is revealed in the course of inquiries into other matters. Associations are of interest only if examined from a particular standpoint, which usually entails study of a wider range of institutions" (1964:23).

To anticipate the further course of this work, with only slight adaptation, the synoptic diagram (see fig. 5) of variables in Manianga associational behavior can be expanded to include (1) the village as an association based on residence proximity and cooperation of sub-groups as a criterion for membership recruitment; (2) the lineage as an association with descent providing the basis for corporate identity and member recruitment; and (3) the small-scale associations with credit, investment, or ritual interests serving as the specific raison d'être.

To emphasize the main concern of this study in yet different terms, it is not voluntary or involuntary associations, lineages, and villages as such with which I am concerned, but the modes of corporate group recruitment, of decision-making and conflict resolution, of authority allocation, and of the disposition of power. All these factors carry distinct cultural imperatives, often of a ritual or mystical nature, to determine the manner in which all roles and relations will be construed.

On this basis it will be seen that Manianga society does not have many models of organization, one for each type of corporative structure, but a single essential complex model expressive of an adaptable, but coherent culture. In subsequent chapters, then, I turn to an inquiry of Manianga peasant society where the symbolic and ideational terms of social organization are most clearly expressed.

PART II

MANIANGA PEASANT SOCIETY

CHAPTER IV

KISIASIA VILLAGE: A PROFILE OF RANKING AND COMPETITION IN A LINEAGE-BASED COMMUNITY

Administrative, Traditional, and Ecological Determinants in the Composition of the Village Community

Kisiasia village is typical of some forty similar settlements or administrative units of the Kivunda Commune (see fig. 6), one of ten communes of the Luozi Territory. Kisiasia is situated directly along the principal laterite road running from Luozi northward and eastward through the Territory. Although a traditional community, it has thus been influenced by modernizing factors of communication, economic process, and education. To the outsider Kisiasia villagers are quickly characterized as a partially-literate and informed peasantry well aware of the underdeveloped state of their resources.[1] Kisiasia village is also the home of the present Kivunda Communal mayor and thus offered this author a good context for the study of relationships between village community and higher administrative structures.

The village is officially named Kisiasia, but in fact it is sharply divided into two distinct hamlets. As the aerial photo of Kisiasia (fig. 7) and the land-tenure and settlement map (fig. 11) of the hamlets indicate,

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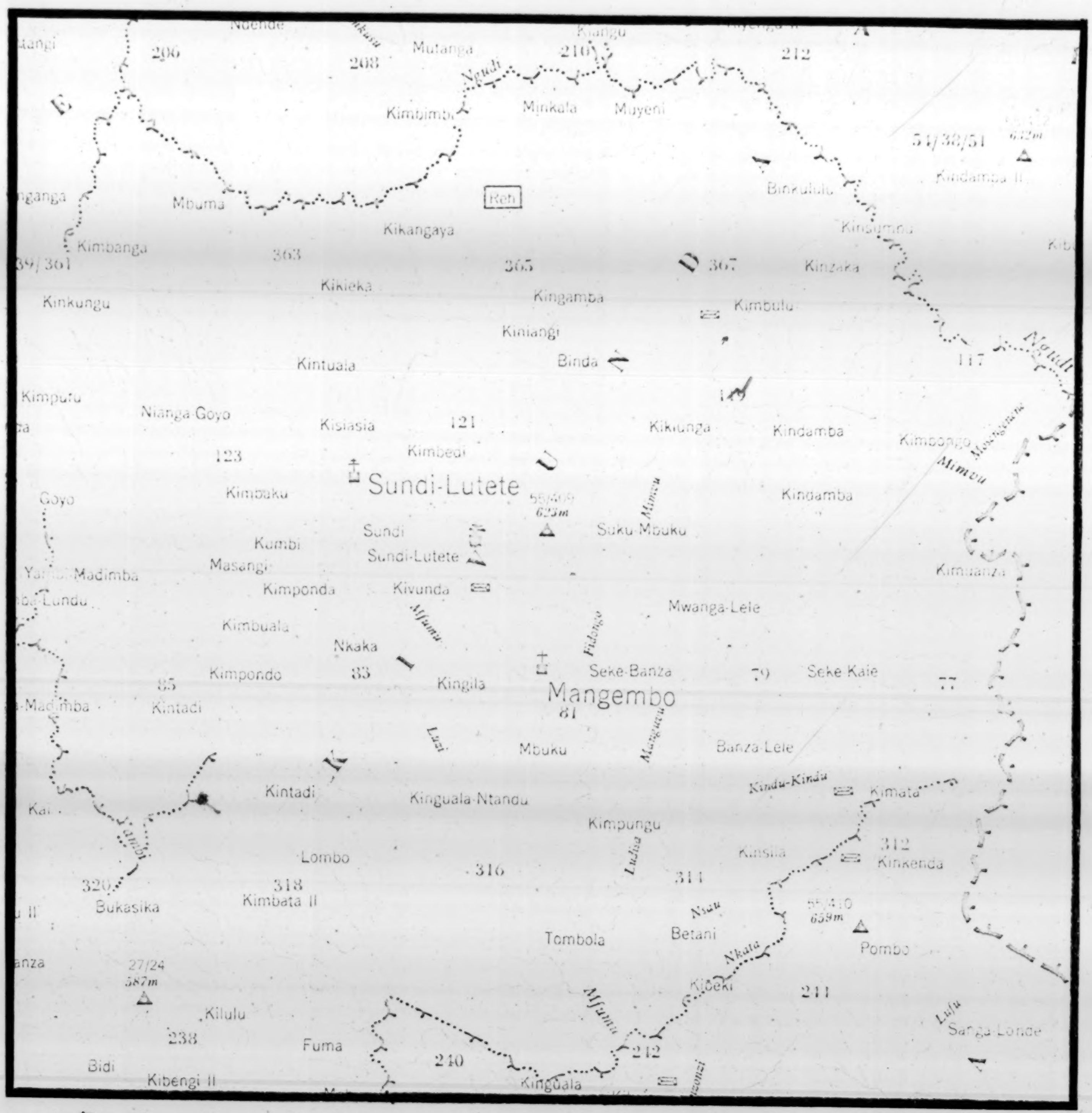
[1] Willame has appropriately pointed out that the study of modernizing influences in the new nations such as the Congo has not been sufficiently directed toward political acculturation of the traditional milieu, i.e., the countryside. Far from occurring solely in conjunction with urbanism and urbanization, political change has frequently been initiated by and affected the rural peasant. (Willame, J.C. "L'acculturation politique en milieu traditionnel." *Cahiers Economiques et Sociaux*. III: 2, 177-184. Léopoldville.)



Nuende
206
208
Mutanga
210
Kiangu
212
Kimbimbi
Minkala
Muyeni
54/38/51
Mbuma
Beti
Binkululu
Kindamba II
Kimbanga
Kikangaya
Kinsimbu
39/361
363
365
367
Kinzaka
Kinkungu
Kikieka
Kingamba
Kimbulu
Kiniangi
Kintuala
Binda
117
Kimpufu
Nianga Goyo
Kisiasia
121
Kikiunga
Kindamba
Kimbongo
Kimbedi
123
Sundi-Lutete
Mimvu
Kimbaku
Kindamba
Goyo
625m
Suku-Mbuku
Sundi
Kombi
Sundi-Lutete
Masangi
Kimuanza
Madimba
Kimponda
Kivunda
Lundu
Mwanga-Lele
Kimbuala
Nkaka
Seke-Banza
Kimpondo
83
85
Kingila
79
Seke-Kaie
77
Madimba
Kintadi
Mangembo
81
Banza-Lele
Mbuku
Kindu-Kindu
Kimata
Kai
Kintadi
Kinguala-Ntandu
Kimpungu
312
Kinsiia
Kinkenda
Lombo
316
320
318
314
Bukasika
Kimbata II
659m
Tombola
Betani
Pombo
27/24
587m
Kiloeki
241
Kilulu
Sanga-Londe
238
Fuma
212
Bidi
Kibengi II
240
Kinguala

Fig. 6.– Kivunda Commune (Institut géographique du Congo, 1954)

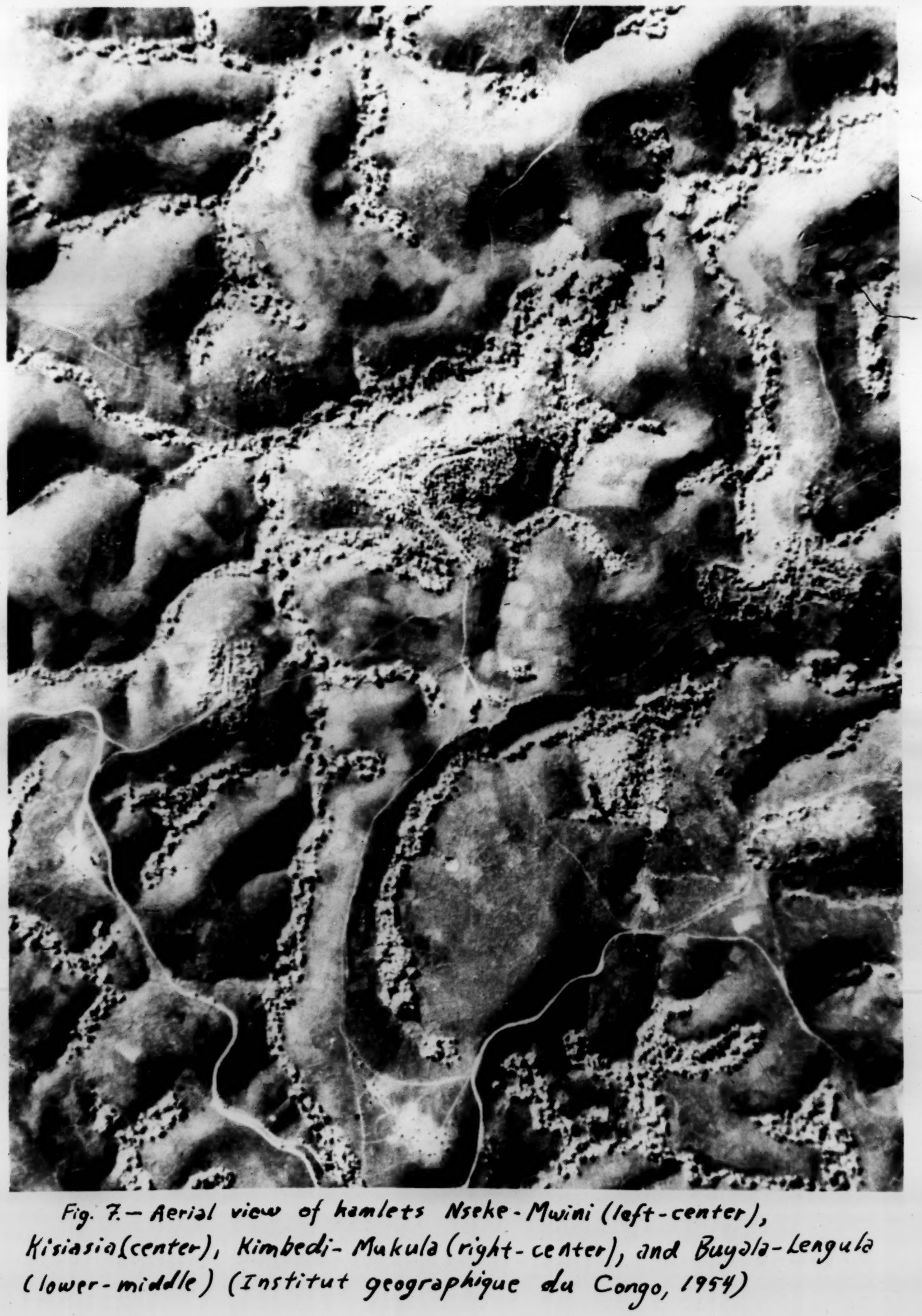


Fig. 7.— Aerial view of hamlets Nseke-Mwini (left-center), Kisiasia (center), Kimbedi-Mukula (right-center), and Buyala-Lengula (lower-middle) (Institut geographique du Congo, 1954)

the principal area of habitation is Kisiasia proper, and the smaller hamlet, nearer to the main road, is locally called Nseke-Mwini, i.e., "luminous hilltop grassland." Hamlet distinctions here, as in all similar settlements of the Kivunda Commune and the Manianga, are indicative of major lineage group autonomy. Thus the hamlet of Nseke-Mwini in 1966 was inhabited by two major allied land holding matrilineal descent groups, the Nusundi and the Bwende, and Kisiasia proper by the important Kimbanga descent group. Both hamlet populations are in addition augmented by smaller segments of client and domestic slave lines which depend, or recently did, upon one of the major free lines. Despite the fact that several of these dependent client descent groups have freed themselves from any obligations to their overlords in the past decades and returned to their home areas, the overall village population shows a gradual increase in de facto size from 230 persons in 1956 to nearly 290 persons in 1965.[1] This actual population of Kisiasia places the village at the lower middle end of a scale of village populations in the Kivunda Commune varying from 136 persons in the smallest to 829 persons in the largest settlement. Overall de facto population of the Kivunda Commune in 1965 was 13, 930 persons, including about a thousand "strangers" from outside of the commune; the rightful "originating" population of the

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[1] These population figures are taken from the communal censuses, and must be considered only approximately accurate, due to both ambiguity of census categories and to arbitrary methods of collecting information. In 1962 the administration established the distinction, somewhat revised from the colonial census methodology, of reckoning _population reel_ (de facto population) independently from _population de droit_, these latter including those absent on a long-term basis but who according to matrilineal and avunculocal rules "originate" in the village. Thus in the 1965 census Kisiasia had 286 de facto inhabitants, including wives, out of a total of 488 "originating" de jure inhabitants. Of these 286 actual inhabitants, 57 are adult males, 83 women, 74 boys, and 72 girls (_Tableaux de recensement de population_ (Kivunda), 1956, 1959, 1962, 1964, and 1965).

Kivunda Commune, at the same time, was almost 26,000 persons.

The designation of "largest" and "smallest" villages, however, is a rather meaningless distinction in view of the fact that the village itself is a somewhat arbitrary administrative unit. More significant than the variable population of village communities is the minimal regional ratio of persons present to persons absent, i.e., the real population density compared with the legal, originating population. Such a comparison indicates the optimal density of the rural population with respect to prevailing economic and commercial potentials.

Despite the attraction of two large mission stations, a commercial center with twenty shops, and two palm-oil refineries in the commune, the heaviest concentration of de facto population is not along the principal roads nor in the centers, but in the most inaccessible areas where the land happens to be most fertile and where water and forest are abundant. Seen in this light, the administrative groupement in which Kisiasia is located has an average real populational density of 41 persons per square mile. The area of heaviest population density where there are fewer good roads, is as great as 50 persons per square mile. Throughout the commune the principal agricultural occupation is the cultivation by the women of manioc, gourds, yams, and peanuts on shifting grassland plots, and of fruit trees, palms, and truck crops by the men. The heavily forested areas thus permit more cultivation and commercial activity by the men along traditional lines of the division of labor, and as a consequence, a more equal proportion of men to women in the overall population.

Kisiasia village thus presents an average population density for the region. The ratio of adult males present to those finding their livelihood elsewhere is 57 to 94, and the overall ratio of actual occupants to those having "originated" there, but residing elsewhere, is 286 to 202. Compare this to another village lying alongside a river, commanding plentiful forest land. Here we find 69 men present and only 37 absent, with the overall ratio of actual inhabitants to those absent being 321 to 98. In another village with scanty forest area we find only 31 adult males remaining and 75 residing elsewhere; here the total ratio of persons present and absent is 159 to 205 (Tableau de recensement (Kivunda), 1965; Nicolai 1961:10).[1]

As already mentioned, the "villages" of the Kivunda Commune, including Kisiasia, are generally not traditional social entities, but agglomerations of settlements of principal lineages and their client descent groups, assigned together within the colonially-derived administrative unit called the village. No large-scale amassing of isolated hamlets however was done as was the case in other parts of the Congo such as the Northern forest areas or the Southern

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[1] The question of real population density is of more than passing interest for the reason that both in the Manianga and in other areas of the Lower Congo there seems to be a rather high degree of correlation between high density of population and a particular form of kinship terminology that places accentuated emphasis on vertical lines of distinction. This appears most noticeably in cross-cousin terminology, but probably denotes a generally-greater importance of hierarchic distinctions, e.g., hypergamy, patron and client relations, and so forth, in those areas where vital space is more critical. I have not been able to follow out this hypothesis to any rigorous extent, but it is highly suggestive that in the Kivunda area where the population density is upwards of forty persons per square mile patrilateral "cross" relatives fall within the category of "grandparents" and matrilateral "cross" relatives within that of "grandchildren," and in other areas of the Manianga where the population density is that of less than fifteen persons per square mile a more "egalitarian" terminology is used for "cross" relatives (see fig. 8). Doutreloux (1967:77-84) has noted a similar wide degree of regional variation in the terminology of ego's generational kinsmen in his work on the Mayombe, but has not attempted to account for this interesting phenomenon. MacGaffey (personal communications, 1967) has concurred that something like a "population density-status deference" factor obtains in the Ndibu and Ntandu regions across the Congo river.

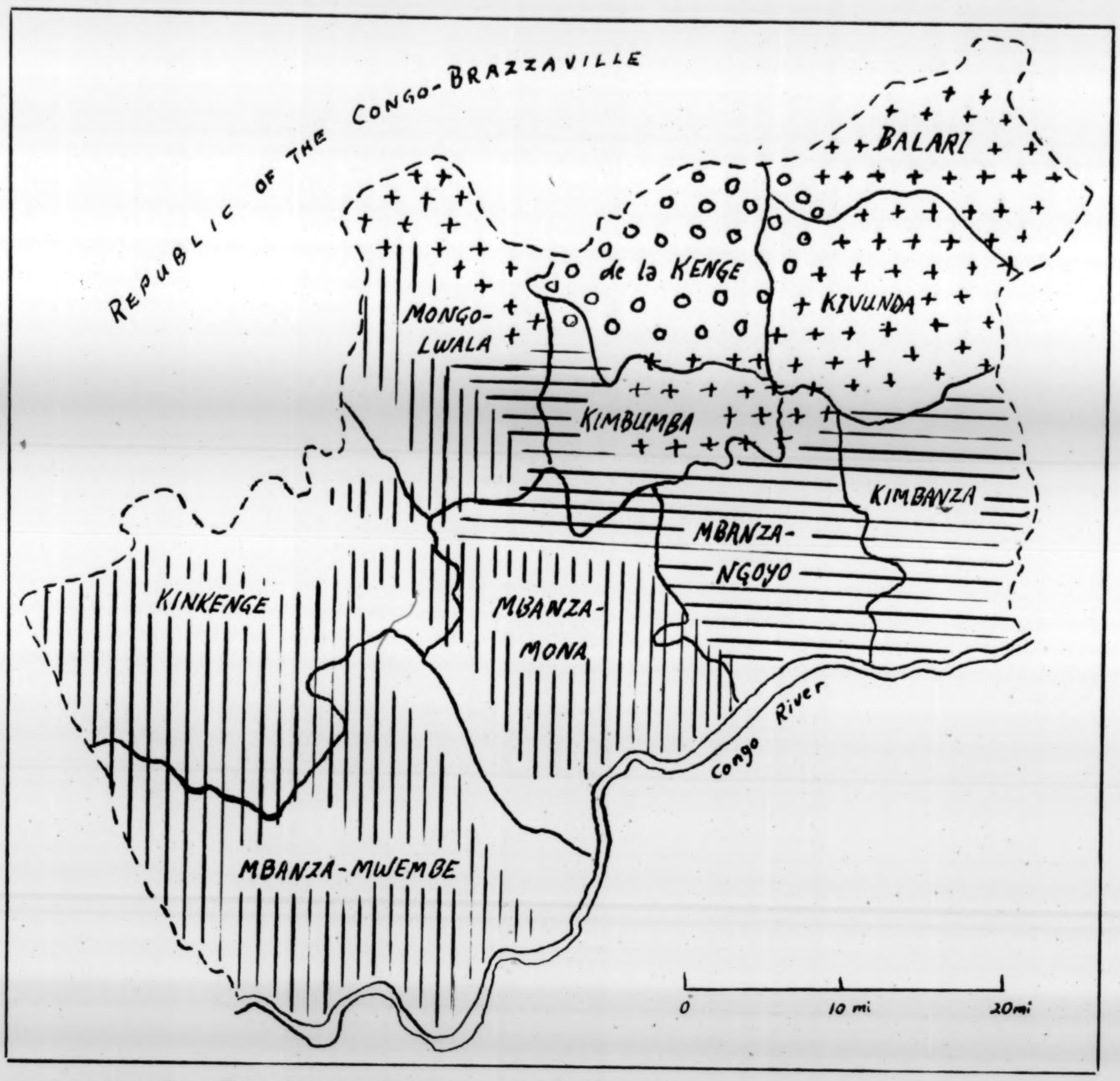
REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE
BALARI
de la KENGE
KIVUNDA
MONGO-LWALA
KIMBUMBA
KIMBANZA
MBANZA-NGOYO
KINKENGE
MBANZA-MONA
Congo River
MBANZA-MWEMBE
0
10 mi
20mi

Fig. 8.— Population Density of the Manianga as of 1960

Legend

- - - - Territorial Boundaries

—— Secteur (Communal) Boundaries

+++ 35 to 50 inhabitants per square mile

ooo 25 to 35 inhabitants per square mile

▤ 15 to 25 inhabitants per square mile

▥ 5 to 15 inhabitants per square mile

☐ Uninhabited

(After Nicolaï 1961: 8-10)

savanna country. During much of colonial period fragmentation and shifting of the village population was simply forcefully discouraged. The inclination of lineage communities, or hamlets, to segment and settle in separate units found expression in other ways. A village could move in unison with the consent of the government. Within a village, i.e., the community of several patron and client lineage complexes, spatial arrangement and distinctive quarters often marked the traditional social lines of organization. With the advent of independence in 1960, however, a considerable spatial shifting of lineage groups began to occur. Some groups moved from one "village" to another for more advantageous access to their own land. More commonly, large village settlements divided into separate hamlet communities because of divisive relations between, as well as within, lineage groups. In this process there has been a tendency for lineage sections to settle on or near to their own land.

Many governmental officials and outside social scientists have remarked that this fragmentation of the Lower Congo village since independence signifies a breakdown of traditional social structural principles. A more astute investigation of the matter, however, suggests that settlement migration and the segmentation of village and hamlet communities is expressive of basic social structural principles at the roots of historic and contemporary society, principles thwarted from expression during colonial days, but which today, once again, receive full expression in terms of spatial placement of groups. It is not surprising that there where land is the primary economic resource, social structural dynamics are readily expressed in terms of spatial placement of residence groups. As will become clear below in this chapter, the volatile nature of settlement practices is thus not something of recent origin, but the symbolic expression of social organizational principles that derive from the very core of lineage-based society. Such principles as lineage segmentation and accretion, and the contracting or dissolving of patron-client relations,[1] although often superficially hampered from expression during the colonial period, were not expressly altered or revised, and continue to this day to provide the elemental models of organization in society.

To see this in more detail it is worthwhile to isolate first the village institutions which did originate in colonial administrative action. In harmony with the enforcement of a concept of "village" autonomy, perhaps the most significant colonial administrative innovation was the creation of the office of duki or capita, the village headmanship. As in Kisiasia of today, the office of village headman often coincided with that of headman of the principal lineage in the total village community of hamlets. Yet the two roles of village headman and lineage headman are quite distinct in practice. Whereas lineage headmanship is a function of seniority and competence with the matrilineage, that of village headmanship is only sometimes an indication of popularity or authority, but always an indication of support by the administration. Although in theory elected by the villagers, the village headman is subject to approval by the administration, a policy extant to the present. Thus the duki, or capita constituted the lowest position of the de facto administrative hierarchy, although his office was categorized as being within the "custom." As a consequence his functions were, and are, the rather unrewarding ones of keeping the paths clean, warning the villagers to clean their latrines before the annual health inspection, and, as was the case in 1965 with the occupation of the Congolese National Army during border incidents with Congo-Brazzaville, to muster up food contributions from the villagers for the soldiers. The village headman is not a full-fledged member of the communal council, thus his role is more that of work boss, as the title capita suggests, than that of authority. The nature of the office of village headman, as such, reflects that of the "village" as a kind of shadow corporate entity and little more.

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[1] I use this dichotomy to refer to the status distinction between a freeman, mfuumu a dikaanda, with free access to land, and that person without land, dependent upon the former for his livelihood. The term client covers the wide range of bound debtor, voluntary pawn, and war prisoner, and the term patron those to whom the client is tied by particular obligation. In terms of actual social rank, however, the dichotomy is only that of relative inferior and superior, and generally not that of absolute class or caste distinction. A fuller discussion is given over to the description of rank elsewhere in this chapter.

For a more penetrating evaluation of village society it is necessary to turn to the unilineal descent groupings. In Kisiasia society this includes both patron and client lines, i.e., those who can invoke an extensive genealogy in defense of claims to land and seniority in political affairs as well as those who are "dispossessed" and can only trace their heritage back to a common ancestress captured in a past raid or acquired through debt payment. The identifiable descent groups of Kisiasia vary greatly with respect to size, wealth, land-holding, and inferentially, corporate status. But the fact that at some time or other they are called on to act as corporate entities, despite their relative size, requires that they be given closer identification individually.

Fig. 9.- Dry season ground view of hamlets of Kisiasia, Nseke-Mwini in foreground

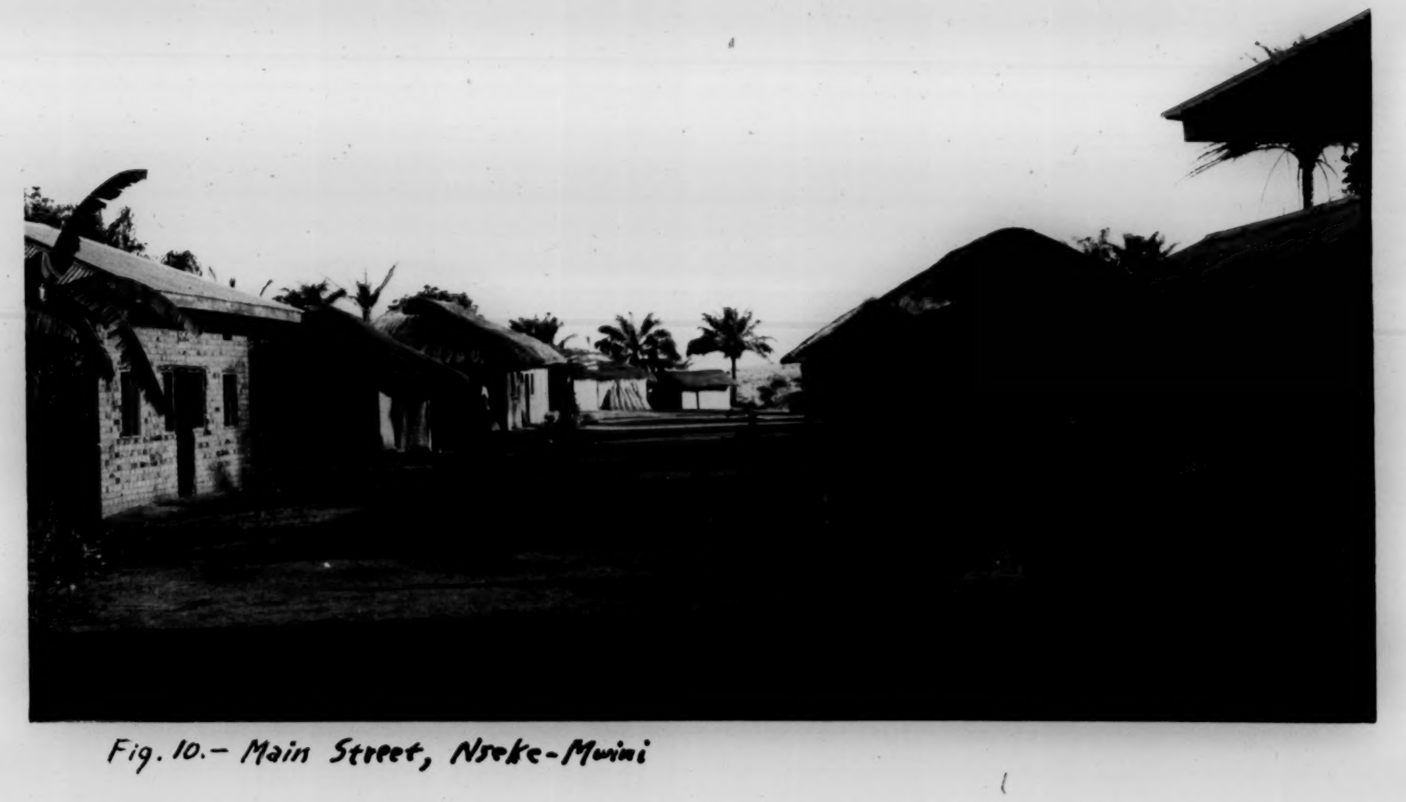

Fig. 10.- Main Street, Nseke-Mwini

Descent Groups of Kisiasia

The year 1940 is a convenient base-line from which to enumerate the various descent groups, both patron and client, in Kisiasia society. Although a number of the client groups have since been redeemed and have returned to their settlements of origin, they continue to shape contemporary affairs, particularly in regard to land, to such an extent that they may appropriately be included here.

The dominant group of the hamlet of Greater Kisiasia is the Kimbanga lineage (1), whose members have inhabited the land today claimed for nearly ten generations. The territorial focal point of the Kimbanga lineage estate is the sacred forest Sala (see fig. 11), their putative first settlement in the area, and today the site of the Kimbanga cemetery, in recent years expanded onto the grassland of Nseke-Bikinda. The Kimbanga played a prominent role in the Lemba association prior to 1921 and sponsored the initiation of a number of their client group males. The Kisiasia Kimbanga, along with Kimbanga lines of surrounding villages, constitute an exogamous unit on the basis of fictive common matrilineal descent. Thus they are of the same _luvila_, or clan. Today the Kimbanga of Kisiasia comprise two distinct sub-lineages, _mavuumu_, stemming from two daughters of an apical ancestress five generations anterior to the present-day lineage headman. While these two sub-lineages tend to inhabit separate quarters of the hamlet (see fig. 11), they constitute a single corporate organization with a consistent single line of headmen.

The first of a number of client descent groups of the Kimbanga lineage is the Kikwimba clan section (2) of the village of Kimbulu, located in the Kenge Commune west of Kivunda. These individuals lived under the tutelage of the Kimbanga at least four generations before obtaining their freedom in 1964. Although circumstances surrounding the origin of their clientage are not clear, it is probable that an original ancestress was obtained by the Kimbanga in an exchange or a payment of debt, judging from the distance of about twenty-five miles between the two villages. Present-day Kimbanga elders were unwilling or unable to give me the details. Relations between the Kimbanga and the Kikwimba of Kimbulu appear to have been good however. For when the Kikwimba returned to Kimbulu in 1964 the case did not lead to court over differences of payment, as is so often the case in ransoms of this type. Nor is there any record of witchcraft, land dispute, or injury affairs between the two lines. One indication of the persisting relations between the two groups is that Batakana, the aged wife of an important former Kimbanga headman, Madianga (+1929), continues today to live in Kisiasia under the protection of her late husband's line, her former patrons.

Another client group of the Kimbanga until their freedom in 1947 is the Nsundi section (3) from the neighboring village of Kinganga. Nkula, the original ancestress of this client group, was gotten about fifty years ago by Ngoma, late elder of the Kimbanga, for the payment of seven guns, one goat, and a chicken. Her descendants had grown to a number of twelve individuals by 1947 when her son Binkimbula brought a spokesman of the sublineage of Ngoma before the Kivunda tribunal, accusing him of not granting them their freedom. The ransom price of 1000 francs and one live "blood" pig was reduced by the court to 200 francs, a ritual "species" pig of 400 francs, plus the judge's fee of 24 francs (Procès-verbal du tribunal (Kivunda), #318, October 22, 1947).

Another somewhat more significant client group of the Kimbanga until the late forties or early fifties is the Nsundi clan section (4) originating in the village of Kimata-Mongo some fifteen miles distant. Comprising thirty individuals by the time of their ransom, they represented a respected presence in village affairs. One of their number, a contemporary of the oldest living men of the Kimbanga, was chief of the men's hut[1] for a time and principal spokesman for his patrons in court affairs. Following their freedom the Nsundi of Kimata were able to retain access rights to a few land parcels in the vicinity of Kisiasia, an indication of their relative strength. The Kimbanga, hoping to assert their prerogatives over land utilized by clients during these latters' residence at Kisiasia, in 1952 and again in 1961 brought the Nsundi of Kimata before the court. In the first instance it was established that Muyudi of the Nsundi group had indeed already relinquished his hold on the parcel of land in question. In the second case in 1961, however, Muyudi was given full rights to a parcel of forest which Muzita of the Kimbanga of Kisiasia claimed he had seized illegally. With right to a few land plots thus assured, a small section of the Nsundi of Kimata-Mongo village continues to live in Kisiasia as recognized freemen in the shadow of their former Kimbanga patrons.

Many of the same terms of clientage enumerated above for the Nsundi of Kimata-Mongo village hold true for the Mpanga clan section (5) of Kimata-Mongo whose genealogy as clients of the Kimbanga goes back three generations anterior to today's adults. After challenging the Kimbanga before the Kivunda court in 1954 to grant them their freedom, thirty-nine individuals of this group achieved freeman status. Here too, as in the above case, a number of individuals remain in Kisiasia as wives of Kisiasia men and as craftsmen and cultivators.

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[1] The men's hut, mboongi, yemba, or lusaanga is variously a drinking circle, chief's residence, traditional tribunal, mortuary shelter, or all of these, found in every hamlet. See Chapter VII for a fuller discussion on this subject.

The Mbanda clan section (6) of the village of Kimata-Nsau came under the tutelage of the Kimbanga about five generations ago when Nsungi, their common ancestress, was kidnapped by Mpungu of the Kimbanga who had placed food onto the path as a trap during a severe famine. She was brought to Kisiasia and became the wife of her captor. In 1946 when her grandson Mutumbu brought Ngula of the Kimbanga sub-lineage opposite to that of Mpungu to the Kivunda court for refusing to grant them their freedom, this descent line numbered twenty individuals. The ransom price was reduced by the judges from the 1500 francs asked by the Kimbanga to 550 francs. A few individuals of this group also remain in Kisiasia to this day as wives of Kisiasia men and as free artisans, since they have no access to land.

A number of other persons, most of "dispossessed" status who do not know their clanic affiliation, remain clients of the Kimbanga. In most instances they are married to Kimbanga lineage women, but because of the difficulty in obtaining land-working rights, many of them have left the village to obtain work in the urban centers.[1]

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[1] It is fitting to recall here that although the colonial government did not rule clientage, what it called slavery, illegal as did the British colonial governments, it did uphold the policy that if any client descent group brought its case for freedom before the courts, and would pay the sum, or a reasonable equivalent, expected, it could remove itself from clientage. In native theory such a policy amounted to a tacit preservation of the institution. It was not the mild interference of the government, nor the teachings

In the hamlet of Lesser Kisiasia, or Nseke-Mwini, the Nsundi clan section (7) constitutes the dominant group. It forms the counterpart and principal competitor in land and in the allegiance of client groups to the Kimbanga of Greater Kisiasia. The Nsundi are consanguinally related with two other Nsundi groups in the adjoining villages of Kimbedi and Buyala-Lengula (see fig.'s 7 and 11), groups with whom they shared corporate lineage affairs about five generations ago; today they are however, unable to trace any exact genealogical links with them. While the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini continue to observe exogamous relations with these distantly-related clansmen, and frequently cooperate in marriage and mortuary exchange payments, land identity is separate. When these three Nsundi groups were still together in a common settlement near Kimbedi (see fig. 11), their common burial ground was the forest of Mbuku; but since fission the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini have buried their dead apart. There are indications that the entire Nsundi clan of Kivunda is of a cultic and historic origin differing from that of the Kimbanga and other long-term residents of the region. The Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini did not participate actively in the Lemba association; rather, they were part of a tradition active south of the Congo river in which the "crowned chiefs", the zimfuumu za mpu with titles of Musawami and Musaki, obtained (Mertens:1942; Van Wing 1949:105-19). This is one of a number of indicators that the

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of the missionaries which by and large terminated clientage, but the increasingly important cash economy over the exchange of human possession which rendered clientage less advantageous than formerly. In continuing to honor the terms of patron-client relations as well as customary rules of procedure, both the colonial and post-colonial governments have respected the old institutions. The terms of descent group status have however changed to other types of wealth; it is only rarely a viable alternative to poverty and landlessness any more. Still, since it is considered to be inherited as a status along matrilineal lines, an individual in this category must deal with it to become a freeman.

Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini descend from an important chiefdom having existed at the present site of Nsundi-Lutete in the nineteenth century, and ultimately, perhaps, to the Nsundi Province of the ancient Kongo Kingdom.

The second group of importance in the hamlet of Nseke-Mwini is the Bwende clan section (8). In public[1] the official relationship between these two groups is that of "brother to brother", meaning that they are to have shared habitation sites and cooperated in critical affairs for a number of generations. One Nsundi elder alleged at the outset of my inquiry that this fraternity goes back to the historic Kongo capital at San Salvador in Angola.[2]

The publically-accepted fraternity between the two groups is however colored by a patent ambivalence of private versions concerning who first founded Nseke-Mwini, whether the Bwende are freemen or clients of the Nsundi, and whether the Bwende legitimately possess the land they work or whether it has been granted them by the Nsundi.

The resolution of any one of these symbolically-important questions is difficult, attesting to the mutually-competitive position of the two groups. Both Bwende and the Nsundi individuals privately lay claim to having first settled Nseke-Mwini hamlet, thereby each asserting superior rank by the "founder" ideology. When the Nsundi do not publicly voice the fraternal "brother to brother" relationship between themselves and the Bwende, they suggest an alternative "older brother" protector version, recalling that when their Nsundi forbears died they left them with the responsibility of "watching over these (Bwende) as your own." The Bwende interpretation of this relationship, in private interrogation, vascillates from their being freemen (with land) to being linked with the Nsundi historically in some type of clientage arrangement. The Kimbanga of the other hamlet speak of the Bwende as full clients or even outright slaves of the Nsundi, without being able to trace the original circumstances of such an alleged relationship.

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[1] The difference between the public version of a past event or relationship involving two descent groups and the private version spelled out by individuals often is enormous, indicating the point at which historical narrative or social structural interpretation may be changed for political expediency. The public version, there where two groups concerned constitute the "public", is usually a tacit statement of consensus in favor of the dominant party. More will be said of this problem later.

[2] Origin from the city Kongo dia Ntotila is a common lineage charter used to legitimate a corporate descent group by identifying it with ultimate mystical authority of the historic Kongo Kingdom. Thus its invocation, however inconvincing, in this situation must be considered to be a rhetorical desire of solidarity rather than any empirical statement of lineage history.

In public the Nsundi claim all surrounding land as their own (see fig. 11). Although the Bwende mutely accept this version in public, privately, in fact secretively, they can demonstrate the land plots to which they are the sole possessors and the individually-named nsafu trees which belong to them by descent, accusing the Nsundi of wanting to disinherit them completely. For this reason, explains one Bwende male, he has removed his house from the Nsundi settlement onto his group's land in the hope of better being able to assert his rights one day when he becomes older (see fig. 11). The Kimbanga, although stating that the Bwende are subordinate to the Nsundi, recognize their right to land, as is clear from the fact that they recently redefined the boundaries between themselves and the Bwende, suggesting privately to me that the Bwende historically possessed even more land than the Nsundi. The fact that there have been many land conflicts in court between the Bwende and Kimbanga, and between the Nsundi and the Kimbanga, but never between the Nsundi and the Bwende, suggests that relations are indeed very close between these latter two, and that settlement of conflict has traditionally been handled locally and possibly even ritually as between two branches of a lineage. But that there is a deep rivalry between the two groups is very evident.

To make matters even more ambivalent between the Bwende and the Nsundi, one Nsundi elder married to a Bwende woman is behind his back accused by other Nsundi, individuals of assisting his Bwende son and nephew, his patrilateral descendents to the detriment of his matrilineage juniors. He is accused of aspiring to break the Nsundi "circle", a point substantiated by his own suspicions of witchcraft being perpetrated against him by his Nsundi cousin, the lineage headman and village duki.

The rivalry between the Nsundi and the Bwende lines stems from the rising importance of the Bwende in terms of sheer numbers, and the threat felt by the Nsundi. A decade ago there were no adult Bwende males; today two Bwende males are young men wishing to regain what intervening years and Nsundi dominance have done to minimize their corporate identity and strength.

The conflict between the two leading lineages of Nseke-Mwini is reflected further in the manner by which the status of other client groups is explained. The Mazinga clan segment (9), tracing its roots to Kingila village, although having freed itself from all debts and obligations in Nseke-Mwini some years ago, is still clearly remembered in terms of the conflict aroused over whose clients they in fact actually were. Both the Bwende and Nsundi claim to have been the patrons of the Mazinga. These conflicting interpretations by the two main rivals of Nseke-Mwini must be explained by introducing a fourth party, the Kikwimba of May-ongila village originally, who were the clients of the Mazinga.

The Kikwimba (10) of Mayongila village to the north in Balari country had been inhabitants of the Nsundi-Bwende community for at least six generations before achieving freeman status in 1942, judging from both Nsundi and Kimbanga genealogies where they appear frequently as marriage partners. Outsiders from neighboring villages contend that the Kikwimba had been the clients of the Mazinga, although the dominant Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini claimed them as their own clients, an interpretation not entirely wrong, as further explanation below will indicate.

When the Kikwimba obtained their freedom in 1942 they clandestinely transferred the three plots of land they had worked to the Kimbanga and other lineage parties outside the village, and did not return them to their putative overlords. The Nsundi were unable to defend their land interests effectively before the Kimbanga at the time. Recently, however, as Nsundi elders have acquired more power, i.e., age, they have sought to re-open the case before the communal court. The Kimbanga, wishing to keep effective control over the plots, have argued that the Nsundi never had possession of the land because the Kikwimba were not clients of the Nsundi but of the Mazinga, from whom the Kikwimba had originally gotten access to the land. Justice in the matter, it was argued, hinged on the question of whether the Mazinga had been clients of the Bwende or of the Nsundi. Court cases between the Nsundi and the Kimbanga over these lands have been taken as far as the Territorial court in Luozi, but until now the Kimbanga have usually won. This has only exacerbated the conflict between the two leading lineages of Kisiasia, and indirectly between the Nsundi and the Bwende. The issue remains today approximately at the same vague state of resolution as it was over twenty years ago when the Kikwimba made their notorious transaction. A few individuals of the Kikwimba, not in a position to obtain land at home, have remained in Nseke-Mwini where they are noticeably outsiders, not participating in the men's hut activities to any great extent. A decade or so ago they constituted a separate "hut" group with the Mazinga. Although the position of the overlords of the Kikwimba, the Mazinga, is not clear, the Kikwimba represent a noteworthy instance of a group that is client of a client group, demonstrating that the entire issue of status position of descent groups in Manianga village society is a relative one contingent on factors of membership numbers and dexterity in court and assembly affairs. The remaining issues of land tenure will be dealt with elsewhere.

An Nsundi clan section (11) originating from the village of Nsundi-Bakongo constitutes the final client group having played a role of any importance in the recent history of Nseke-Mwini. This Nsundi group, not to be confused with the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini, nor with those in clientage to the Kimbanga, clearly were under the tutelage of the Bwende. Their ransom came up before the communal court of Kivunda in 1944 when they and the Bwende could not agree on the price of ransom and the lusansu fee, i.e., the cost of keeping and protecting incurred by the Bwende during the four generations that the Nsundi (11) had been clients. The court rejected the Bwende demand for 750. francs and a ritual "pig" of ransom amounting to 200. francs would be sufficient. The Nsundi section of Nsundi-Bakongo, numbering fourteen individuals in 1944, appear to have had good relations with all Kisiasia descent groups, even though the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini will not admit, despite the court records, their clientage to the Bwende. Mayolo, a prominent elder of the client Nsundi, held the office of chief of the men's hut in the group comprising the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini, the Bwende, and themselves.

As former hut chief and elder surrogate, Mayolo knows more details of the Nsundi and Bwende genealogies and land cases than members of these two lines. Often he served as spokesman in their court affairs when they lacked adequate expertise among their own ranks. Mayolo today continues to be a close and indispensible friend of the Nsundi (Nseke-Mwini) lineage, and receives a share of their mortuary and bride price receipts.

In broad lines, then, the characteristics of descent group affiliation in Nseke-Mwini should be clear. The Bwende (8) and the Mazinga (9), although inferior freemen and client respectively, vis-à-vis the Nsundi (7) themselves each have clients, although the Nsundi may still disregard such distinctions among the other lines, contending that they are dominant over all. The Kimbanga-dominated hamlet has a similar structure, without however the element of rivalry playing so prominent a role.

The general lines of such hierarchic ranking and rivalary within one hamlet community can best be conceptualized in terms of a series of dyadic relationships between descent groups, underlining the fact that any single relationship at a given moment may be either predominantly competitive or hierarchic. Superiority is symbolized in the "founder" or first arrival ideology, in claims to land, in subtle assertions of seniority in men's hut discourse, in the claim of patronage over client descent groups, and in certain patterns of alliance between groups. Inferiority is then simply acquiesence in public in each of these areas.

Following Smith's definition of the corporate group as having "requisite features of autonomy, organization, procedure, and common affairs" as well as "presumed perpetuity, boundedness, determinate membership, and identity . . ." (1966:119), the hamlet, constituting a cluster of descent groups, as well as each individual descent group, must each be considered as a corporate group. Hamlet corporate identity and membership at a given moment is based on factors of contiguous residence and common affairs as well as on organization of the de facto hierarchy. Often marriage, kinship, and succession rules enter in to relate the separate descent groups and to determine the points of cooperation, exchange, and competition.

The de facto hierarchy, an element of the internal organization of the hamlet, is however "open" in the sense that a given descent group can in a few generations move from complete subordination to a position where it also has subordinates. It is open in another sense in that subordinate groups such as the Kikwimba (10) can effectively revolt against their ultimate superiors such as the Nsundi (7) by engaging in land transactions to the detriment of these latter, or even by defecting from their juridical overlords for another more prestigious or convenable group. This form of seeking protection and support is reminiscent of the Manianga feud pattern of several decades ago. If group A is attacked by B, B does not usually retaliate directly, but symbolically raids another group, C, more powerful than A, who then seeks revenge by attacking or raiding A, the initial provocator.

One of the attending characteristics of competition between two cohabiting corporate descent groups is for each to seek allies whether it be in the form of sons who remain with their fathers after puberty or clients of subordinate status. Both are potential allies. In a sense then the hierarchic arrangement of descent groups in this context is a function of the competition between near status equivalents. But the advantage to both patron and client is mutual. Dependents have as much to gain from adherence to a superior as the former have to gain in political support. The former gain access to land, legal protection or even immunity, and patronage in marriage.

But because descent groups are irreducible, similar, and distinctive social units, the hierarchy is never quite free of competition between two such groups. At a given moment, contingent on the size, power, or cunning of the individuals of such a group, a hierarchic dyad of subordinates and superordinates can become a dyad of essentially two status equivalent groups, a condition existing currently between the Bwende (8) and the Nsundi (7), or between the Nsundi and the Kimbanga (1). Even though the descent group is a corporate unit, by definition, also normally having its own internal affairs, presumed perpetuity, and so forth, it is necessary at the same time to conceive of the descent group within the hamlet context as being "more or less" corporate, varying in the degree to which it is able to "exercise and protect corporate rights, enforce corporate obligations, and allocate responsibilities and privileges" (Smith 1966:119). For example, a few matrilineally related females coming into the hamlet as debt slaves, while constituting a descent line, may be completely subservient to their patrons or overlords as regards their affairs, consequently possessing virtually no corporate strength. However as soon as they have sons who grow up to assert distinctive descent group identity, the skeleton of descent membership comes, so to speak, to be clothed in the flesh of corporate function and autonomy.

Yet the central determining factor in the consolidation of the hamlet community is that a corporate matrilineal descent group should seek to augment in whatever manner possible the size and strength of its clientage. Not only is prestige and affluence forthcoming, but through such an accumulation of people around them they resolve the problem endemic to the matrilineal system. They can provide their sisters with husbands in such a fashion that their own inheritors or possessions (sisters' children) remain with them. The alternative to this is that these sisters and children spend the major part of their lives elsewhere under the tutelage of another, perhaps competing, lineage. By keeping their sisters at home in providing them with husbands of subordinate rank, they resolve the classic matrilineal problem of tension between the locus of descent and that of authority.

The Meaning of Settlement Migration

In contemporary Manianga village society one of the best documents of socio-political structure and process is found in the oral histories of migration and settlement. This is true not only because existing social relations within and between descent groups are projected into the historical narratives, but because migration and settlement are factors themselves which symbolize the dynamics of social life. A settlement may of course be abandoned because of health, safety, or ecological reasons, but even these motivating factors are channeled into the social structural conditions of migration.

Each of the two major groups of Kisiasia, the Kimbanga and the Nsundi-Bwende cluster, has moved its respective settlement at least a dozen times in the past six or seven generations. And today part of the Kimbanga lineage is in the process of resettlement; a prominent Bwende individual is withdrawing from the Nsundi settlement. Three ideal types of transformation of power have usually accompanied the migrations. (1) In the ascendence of one of two competing descent groups of a hamlet over the other the rising party may withdraw and settle elsewhere. Such is today the case with Bwende of Nseke-Mwini. If the scission is not permanent, the formerly superior "father" line may join the former "son" line, but with the difference that now the kitaata (fatherhood) role has been reversed. Such an ad hoc succession of role may come gradually, or it may take on the character of a sudden break, a coup d'état. (2) Migration may also accompany the transfer of authority from one generation of the dominant lineage to another. Unlike the normal brother-to-brother succession of the lineage headmanship, here succession from uncle to nephew, or from grand-uncle to grand-nephew, particularly if the line of succession by-passes senior members of the junior sub-lineage, sufficient conflict may be aroused so that the younger generation, or the junior sub-lineage, will move its houses to begin a "new regime" of which they are the founders; the lineage community need not segment however in this type of transfer of authority, although here too, the succession may take the form of a coup. Transfer of authority of this type is termed kikota (to enter), since the legitimating factor of the new leadership also rests on their entrance to the source of authority of the lineage. Finally, (3) settlement migration may be induced by the segmentation of the dominant lineage of a hamlet, in which case the junior sub-lineage normally withdraws from its seniors and founds a new settlement. The overall lineage estate is sub-divided, each group retaining its own land and clients.

Thus the testimony of past migration and settlement, as well as the migration itself, constitutes as it were a symbolic rendering of social structure at any point in time, a mixture of historical fact and a "mirage of reality", to use Vansina's phrase (1965:87).

Migration and settlement histories are usually recited in conjunction with lineage genealogies during palavers or in court defenses; both occasions are patently political in nature, and therefore subject to distortion. In order to utilize these histories it is necessary to apply to them a rigorous critique based on the personal or collective ambition involved, the nature of the content of the narrative, and the context in which they are given (1965:155-57).

In the following reconstruction of migrations of principal clusters of Kisiasia (see fig. 11) an attempt is made first of all to trace the real lines of migration and settlement, and to synchronize the chronological sequence of the two principal groups. Place names are usually not subject to change, and provide a fairly reliable indication of past settlement (1965: 81). The sequence and the circumstances of successive settlements however are highly changeable. Thus, secondly, an analysis is made of alternative versions in order to explain just what is their social or political function. (The Nsundi line of migration is charted in brown lines; successive settlement sites are numbered, 1, 2, 3, etc. Kimbanga migration and settlement is charted in red.)

The Nsundi and their Retainers:

The Nsundi lineage of Nseke-Mwini traces its ancestry and habitation back to Nseke-Makendi, the site of the present Svenska Missonsforbundet Station. The adjoining nsafu forest, planted by these Nsundi forbears, is accessible by the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini today, who share rights with other neighboring Nsundi clan sections, although exact genealogical connections with these other groups are no longer remembered.

The Kimbanga and their Retainers:

The Kimbanga of Kisiasia traces its ancestry back to a group which came from the northwest, either from the adjoining Kenge Commune area, or beyond that, from "Congo Falansa", today Congo-Brazzaville. The first remembered habitation site of the Kimbanga-Kisiasia group is the forest of Mbanda-Bikinda, or Sala, the lineage cemetery today. It was here that Mubada, the first male ancestor remembered by the Kimbanga elders, was buried. Mubada was "father" to the important Nsundi "crowned chief"

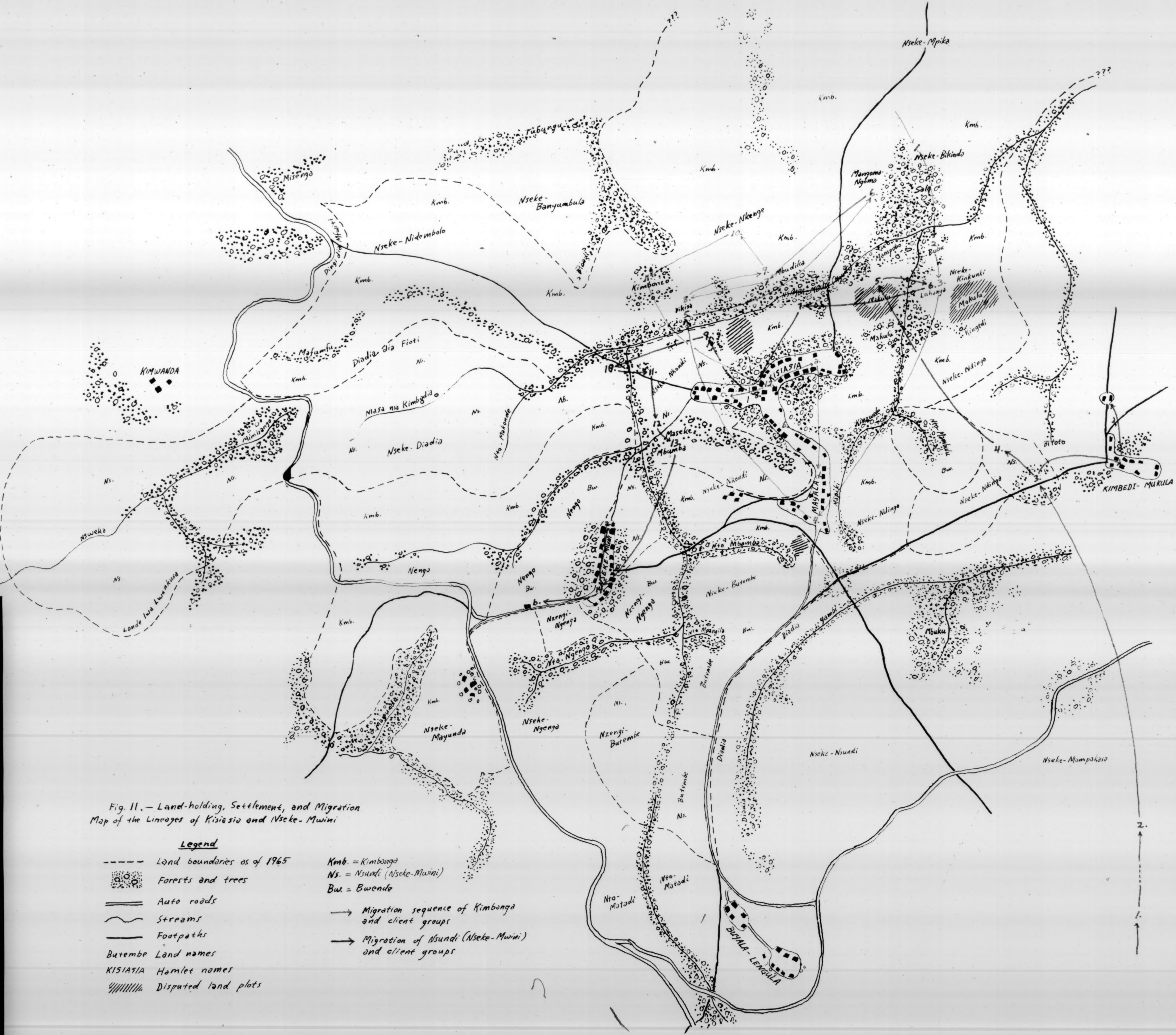
???
Tubungu
Misengo
Kmb.
Nseke-Banyumbula
Nseke-Nidembolo
Pinda dia Mwini
Biadi
Kmb.
Nseke-Nkenge
Mangoma-Ngoma
Nseke-Bikindo
Sala
Mampobo
Bubu
Nseke-Kinkunki
Makulu
Luhanga
Kingedi
Nseke-Mpika
Kimbanzo
Mbudika
Nsanda-Mbulu
Dikisa
KIMWANDA
Mafumfu
Diadia dia Fioti
Masa na Kimbadia
Nseke-Diadia
Nto-Makonde
Nseke-Nkondi
KISIASIA
Maseke
Mbumba
Mimvwanga
Nsweka
Luangi
Lande lwa Lwankusa
Nengo
Nzengi-Ngenga
Nto Ngenga
Nseke-Ngenga
Nseke-Mayunda
Nto Mbamba
Nseke-Butembe
Mapiki
MAYALA
Kinzwele
Nto-Mambulu
Bifoto
Nseke-Ndinga
KIMBEDI-MUKULA
Mbuku
Yambi
Diadia
Butembe
Nzengi-Butembe
Nto-Matadi
Nseke-Nsundi
Nseke-Mampakasa
BWALA-LENGULA
Kmb.
Ns.
Bw.
Legend
Land boundaries as of 1965
Forests and trees
Auto roads
Streams
Footpaths
Butembe Land names
KISIASIA Hamlet names
Disputed land plots
Kmb. = Kimbonga
Ns. = Nsundi (Nseke-Mwini)
Bw. = Bwende
Migration sequence of Kimbonga and client groups
Migration of Nsundi (Nseke-Mwini) and client groups
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.

Fig. 11.—Land-holding, Settlement, and Migration Map of the Lineages of Kisiasia and Nseke-Mwini

Relying on ruse and contract to obtain land and forest, the segment of the Nsundi clan section of Nseke-Makendi moved away and settled at Kitombe, near a stream running midway between Nseke-Makendi and the village of Kimbedi (see fig. 11, # 1 and 2 brown line).

Mapela-Muswami (see fig. 11, # 1 red line).

Judging from the generational span between Mubada and contemporary lineage members of the Kimbanga, and from certain bits of ethnographic evidence regarding the Nsundi chiefdom at Nseke-Makendi collected by the early missionaries (Laman 1953:8-14), the beginnings of these two lineage histories may well date back to the late eighteenth century. Absolute time, however, is a factor of little importance in the function of this history; territorial identification rather seems to be more significant. Both accounts utilize the technique of "origin-citation" as a source of legitimate residence in the area. Although both groups claim originally to have stemmed from Mbanza Kongo dia Ntotila (lying southward in direction for the Nsundi, northward for the Kimbanga!), they also identify themselves with closer points. Thus the Nsundi "originate" from the site of a former great Nsundi chief, and can point to the nsafu trees at Nseke-Makendi as proof. The Kimbanga consider the sacred forest of Sala and the adjoining grassland of Nseke-Bikinda as the focal point of their corporate lineage identity, and can point to the fact that Mubada, their first lineage headman, is buried there. Thus both histories are more concerned with spatial rather than temporal placement. Time becomes a factor only when comparative chronologies of proximal habitation must be produced.

A few of the Nsundi individuals, in telling of the migration of their ancestors into the area, claimed that the land had been uninhabited allowing the Nsundi clan sections to gradually push out into open territory left by the retreating Teke clans. The matter is not so simple, however. To this day Teke clan segments, largely acculturated to the Kongo manner of life, continue to inhabit the northern area of the Manianga. Soret (1963:286) suggests that even those Teke who migrated northward in the eighteenth century retained a ritual right to the tombs of their ancestors, sometimes ceding their land to the Kongo for occupation and cultivation rights, other times having it forcefully taken from them. Very likely, then, certain inhabitants of the Kivunda region are Teke-linked groups (the Kimbanga are considered by some to be distantly-related to the Teke Bangambau clan, for example). It is clear that the Nsundi assertion of migration into open territory is not valid.

Outside invaders such as the Nsundi, according to native theory, could obtain land in a variety of ways. By granting protection and tutelage to local inhabitants as superiors, they could assert their control as patrons and claim access to the land of their subjects. The outstanding example of this type of acquisition was the Jaga warlords who invaded the Kongo in the seventeenth century, living off the land as they pillaged their way. One Jaga war party, according to local reports, moved across what is today the Manianga, taking provisions and slave soldiers. Ultimately this group settled northwestward in the Nyari valley of Congo-Brazzaville.

Less forceful methods were also used. Sometimes the mere request for access sufficed, and a token gift of a chicken or blanket would be given. Some writers such as Soret (1963) deny that land "sales" were made prior to the colonial era, but various Kongo judges of the Manianga and the Ndibu have confirmed that traditionally both cultivation rights as well as more durable possession rights were transfered. At any rate, by applying methods somewhere between outright seizure and legitimate transfer, the Nsundi managed to gain access to the territory they now inhabit. The origin of the Nsundi relationship to the Bwende illustrates the matter somewhat.

Nsundi (con't)

According to the privately conveyed testimony of a Bwende informant, the relationship with the Nsundi began sometime between the site of Kitombe (#2) and Mbota (#3).

This version, given secretly by the eldest Bwende male, whose public acquiescence is markedly different from his private hostility to the Nsundi, flatly contradicts the official Nsundi version. Throughout the public discussions with the Nsundi elders over their background, it was evident that the issue of their relationship to the Bwende was extremely delicate. Although the Nsundi elder who suggested that his group and the Bwende had left Mbanza Kongo (San Salvador), crossed the Congo river together, and settled together every step of the way northward, admitted later that he was probably wrong, this writer refrained from introducing the private Bwende testimony out of fear of provoking a major hamlet crisis; thus the patent ambiguity of the official version must remain as is for the time being. The Bwende informant was also able to cite the individual names of some thirty nsafu trees ostensibly planted by his matrilineal ancestors and subsequently taken over by the Nsundi. If his private testimony is correct, or nearly so, it can be inferred that the Bwende are inhabitants of the immediate Kisiasia area at least as long as the Nsundi.

Nsundi (con't)	Kimbanga (con't)
Following their habitation at Kitombe (#2) the Nsundi, and whoever of the client groups was with them (circumstances here remain unexplained), moved next to the site of Mbota (#3), just westward of the present-day hamlet Kimbedi-Mukula. Judging from the circle of trees remaining today, this was a substantial settlement, established at the latest by the midnineteenth century. Here the Nsundi group came to be divided into sublineages. A break occurred between the elder line of Kimbedi and the junior line that moved to Nseke-Ndinga (#4). The site of Mbota (#3), today abandoned, was inhabited by the eldest branch until they moved to Kimbedi-Mukula, where they again segmented. The junior line of Nseke-Ndinga (#4) itself segmented further to constitute the lines whose descendants are today living at Nseke-Mwini and Buyala-Lengula. During the habitation of the various branches at Nseke-Ndinga and Mbota the Nsundi buried their dead in the forest of Mbuku. Common corporate affairs are evident at this time, even though the Nsundi lived in separate settlements, from the fact that the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini and Kimbedi accused their consaguines of Buyala of not "sharing the wine" in the hut. Subsequently the Nseke-Ndinga Nsundi group divided; the burial site of Mbuku was abandoned and the land estate divided into those plots where each had drawn its palm wine previously. The public version by the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini concerning the cause of the segmentation is that the Lengula line had formed a witches association (kitemo kia bandoki) to diminish the other line for its own benefit.	The Kimbanga version of the scission of the Nsundi group of Nseke-Ndinga, offered publicly by the hut chief of the Kimbanga, relates that Mekaie, an elder of the Nseke-Mwini branch who had already held a prominent position at Mbota (#3), was given the nkasa poison ordeal and died, indicating his guilt over wishing to destroy the unity of the Nsundi.

5

The details of segmentation will be discussed elsewhere below, but for present purposes it is noteworthy that the version by the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini concerning the Nseke-Ndinga scission, in which guilt is cast on the Lengula branch, seems to flatly contradict the Kimbanga version which places the guilt onto the Nseke-Mwini branch. Seen in a different light, however, the two versions are compatible, assuming that mutual antagonism accompanied the division of settlement, estate, and corporate community. In the eyes of the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini, however, it is not the corporate lineage which segmented, but the Lengula branch which withdrew from the interests of the community by forming a "witches association". The version of each group thus contains certain biases so as to bolster its own corporate integrity. The Kimbanga interpretation, not concerned with the internal affairs of the Nsundi, has preserved the name of the man who underwent the poison ordeal and the settlement site where he belonged; from this the general lines of social process, and the divergent interpretations, can be reconstructed.

Nsundi (con't)	Kimbanga (con't)
The first version forwarded by the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini elders regarding the migration from Nseke-Ndinga was that the group had moved to Nseke-Nkondi (#13). In conjunction with this account they mentioned briefly that it was here that the Kimbanga had been their clients, although the narrators were unwilling (or unable) to trace the genealogy of lineal ancestors involved in this stage of their history although they did mention Mpata, the apical ancestress of the two present-day Kimbanga lines, as the individual who had come under their ancestors' tutelage.	The Kimbanga public version, related by the hut chief, is that the Kimbanga never were subservient to the Nsundi, and that in their oral history the Nsundi had failed to relate (1) that their common ancestress was one Fukula, and (2) that the Nsundi had omitted a long series of habitation sites in their past, including that of Luhanga (#6 of the Nsundi, #3 of the Kimbanga) where the two groups lived together for a time.

Nsundi (con't)	Kimbanga (con't)
Confronted with the name Fukula, the Nsundi in a later session revised their earlier story contending that they had indeed not moved directly to Nseke-Ndinga, but that they had inhabited the site of Makulu (i.e., generic term for old settlement site) (#5) and that because the Kimbanga had successfully biased the judges, they now controlled their (the Nsundi's) makulu (#5). The earlier version recounting that the Kimbanga had been clients of the Nsundi was never again mentioned.	The Kimbanga contend that their ancestors granted the Nsundi the right to settle and build at the site of Makulu (#5), and to plant trees, but not to bury their dead, since the ancestors of another line must not be buried in the lineage estate.

The key to the interesting lapse of memory by the Nsundi elders regarding their own ancestry and the migration of their forbears lies in understanding the ideology of land possession and inter-lineage relationships. The Manianga hold tacitly that one of the principal criterion of right to land is prior occupation. In order to justify first occupancy prerogatives the fact of ancestral burial on the plot in question is frequently invoked. In reality the lineage cemetery often marks the spatial and conceptual center of the lineage estate. The practice of making an old habitation site into a cemetery, particularly if it is a forest, arises then from a juxtaposition of the notions of first occupants' rights and ancestral burial as proof of occupancy. Despite the Kimbanga denial of ever having granted the Nsundi burial rights in one of the two Makulu sites the Nsundi apparently did bury their dead here for a time following their abandonment of the forest cemetery Mbuku.

The Nsundi, therefore, by omitting an important section of their lineage history in the first version above, either consciously or unconsciously sought to preserve their prestige. By omitting the entire Makulu sequence, they could trace a continuous line of migrations and settlements on land they command today. But once the name of Fukula, their common ancestress, had been introduced, they were compelled to "recall" the intermediate events. Their ostensible right to the two Makulu sites was then justified on the grounds that despite the presence of Nsundi's trees there, the Kimbanga had effectively seized the plots.

Nsundi (con't)	Kimbanga (con't)
From Nseke-Ndinga, then, the Nsundi moved to the site near Mampobo (#5), planting trees around the site as is common practice. During this habitation they ceased burying their dead at Mbuku and utilized the adjoining Makulu for this purpose.	In the meantime the Kimbanga, together with their clients, moved to the site of Bubu (#2), southward of the sacred forest of Sala. This continued to be used as the Kimbanga burial site.
The Nsundi subsequently moved from Mampobo (#5) to Luhanga (#6) where, as they state it, the two main branches, the Nsundi and Kimbanga, were on equal terms.	Remaining close to the stream of Mayala and the thick forest coverage alongside, the Kimbanga expanded southward to the site of Luhanga (#3) where, as they contend, the Nsundi asked permission to join them in a common settlement.

The details surrounding this common settlement of the Nsundi and the Kimbanga and their clients are lacking in the narrative of either descent group today. In terms of native theory, however, cohabitation of two lineages need not necessarily imply deference of the one for the other. A hamlet is, in a sense, public property even though the settlement is territorially within the estate of one group. Two or more free lineages, zimfuumu za dikanda, each commanding rights to substantial plots of land, may form a loosely-knit community each with its own men's hut where the patron line males "sit" with their clients. Both the Nsundi and the Kimbanga concurred eventually that this was the case at Luhanga.

A commonly-voiced reason for the cohabitation of two land-possessing lineages is that they "watch each other." A large settlement is positively valued because it provides the civil atmosphere of wider public, restricting not only breaches of custom between territorially-adjacent lineages but within each lineage as well. It is generally accepted, for example, that the lineage occupying settlement space upon another lineage land is restricted from expanding its trees and household gardens beyond approximately thirty meters behind the main street. This common hamlet planting right is distinct from ordinary land exploitation right. As will be explained in more detail elsewhere, land apart from the settlement may be granted to clients on the one hand, and to "sons" on the other, who by virtue of their client status, or if freemen, by virtue of their choice to remain in the settlement of their fathers, may obtain land for cultivation on a temporary basis. Such land, controlled by patron or classificatory father, can however, become the nsafu and palm-tree forest of the client or son, since tree planting and fruit rights are sharply distinguished from actual land right. But the entire institution of free rights, generous as it may be, in fact leads to many disputes. The Luhanga site is a case in point; Nsundi, Bwende, and Kimbanga all lay claim to the area on the basis of their own trees growing there today.

Nsundi (con't)	Kimbanga (con't)
From Luhanga the Nsundi break with the Kimbanga and move to Nsimba-Mbudi (#7), a site today constituting a fertile forest garden worked by the Kimbanga hut chief. From Nsimba-Mbudi, a site named after the adjoining stream, the Nsundi and their clients move to the top of the hill that today is the center of the Kimbanga-dominated	The details surrounding the break between the Nsundi and the Kimbanga at Luhanga are not clear. From Luhanga, however, the Kimbanga move to Mayala (#4), a location again occupied by Kimbanga and their retainers today.

Nsundi (con't)	Kimbanga (con't)
village of Kisiasia; its land name is Nseke-Mikisu (#8), at the pinnacle of which the Protestant church is located.	

Until this point the choice of settlement sites by both groups has been determined by ecological factors such as proximity to water and freedom from disease. These are important elements in the ideology of a "utopian" settlement site, an ideology perhaps as strong today as in earlier times. The ideal occupation site in Manianga theory is the grassy hilltop plain, open to the breezes and visible from far. In spite of this the occupation sites considered here range from location atop a healthy grassy hill to the more covered sites within or just alongside a dense forest down in the ravines. There has thus been a tendency for settlements to be removed to more secure, less ideal, forest sites in times of unrest and persistent feuding.

Subsequent to habitation at Nseke-Mikisu and Mayala in the open, both Nsundi and Kimbanga communities moved to the protective covering of the forest. By 1895 the most feared enemy was the European of the Congo Free State with his brutal Congolese soldiers. Settlements needed to be erected near or within a forest to facilitate quick hiding. The period in which subsequent migrations were made is described as one of "much unrest, resettling, migrating, and returning".

Nsundi (con't)	Kimbanga (con't)
From the hilltop site of Nseke-Mikisu (#8) the Nsundi move to the edge of an obscure location on the edge of the lowland grass of Nseke-Nkondi (#9). After only a short inhabitation at this site they moved to the ravine site of Kinzobo (#10)	The Kimbanga with their clients leave the open savanna site of Mayala for Kingisa (Dikisa) (#5) along the edge of the forest, and from there to Ngoma-Ngoma (#6) on the edge of the dense forest of Sala. Then they move down along the stream of Nsimba-Mbunda

Nsundi (con't)

invisible from a distance; and from there to another location on the land of Nseke-Nkondi (#11), and following that to the edge of the forest of Mbumba (#12), and subsequently across the stream Maseke to Nseke-Nkondi (#13).

Kimbanga (con't)

(#7), back again to Nseke-Dikisa (#8), from there to Mbudika (#9), until they eventually settle once again on the higher grassland of Nseke-Nkenge (#10).

This rapid sequence of migrations indicates that the social situation was highly unsettled at the turn of the century. Not only were the villagers apprehensive of the European presence, but the rising rate of internecine feuding, itself a consequence of unsettled conditions, drove them to seek secure sites. Both the Nsundi and the Kimbanga recall that during this time a number of their members were either captured in raids or pawned off against debts to neighboring lineages. The Nsundi and the Kimbanga themselves participated in raiding, and a number of the client groups who recovered their freeman status following 1940 date their presence in Kisiasia back to this time. To make matters worse, the turn of the century saw a severe sleeping sickness epidemic in the Manianga which decimated the population by fifty per cent in places. All these factors were reflected in the instable settlement condition.

Another noteworthy characteristic of the turn of the century in Kisiasia was the seeming localization of major lineages with their clients into a territorial reserve delimited by boundaries either explicit or implicit. Neither the Nsundi nor the Bwende moved outside the land it controls today. It is possible that at some time in the past "territorial" units were more or less defined, with more emphasis on boundaries in areas of high population density. The migration of the Nsundi and the Kimbanga groups on land today claimed by them, may be little more than our view of a continuing process at a particular time. But a more likely explanation of the localization phenomenon is the devolution of authority from large-scale chiefs such as the late eighteenth century Nsundi-Lutete (Nseke-Makendi) chiefdom to localized lineage units. Soret (1963:292) has noted a similar trend for the Northwest Kongo of Congo-Brazzaville. The scope of this chapter does not permit a fuller consideration of this issue here, but it should be clear that present-day "land boundaries", perhaps not an entirely adequate term, go back in most cases to pre-colonial times. The further issue of what boundaries in fact define, is raised at length elsewhere.

With the advent of serious colonial intrusion into native affairs by 1908, two further factors served to accentuate the localization process. Firstly, the administration sought to put an end to internecine feuding, one of the major sources of the populational dislocation of the patron-client system. Secondly, the administration became interested in fixing its control over the indigenous authorities who held some influence or who could command respect. While this did little to centralize native authority, for not always were the real chiefs chosen, it did create more complete sedentary settlement conditions. The Circonscription Indigène of 1933 accentuated the attachment of a social group to "its" land through enforced agriculture, the centralized court system, and the restriction of hamlet segmentation. Finally the influence of a monetary economy and of mission Christianity lowered the prestige value of all forms of quasi-chattel for a dominant line. During the course of the colonial period, then, land possession became the main point of prestige. With these factors in mind, we can trace the migrations which led to relative stability from 1925 to 1960, and to post-colonial fragmentary tendencies.

Nsundi (con't)

In about 1920 the Nsundi, together with their clients, left the site of Nseke-Nkondi (#13) for the hilltop of Nseke-Mwini (#14). Given the nature of migration histories, the Nsundi, Bwende, and the Kikwimba all today claim first arrival there. At Nseke-Mwini two settlement clusters formed, with the Nsundi, Bwende, and Nsundi of Nsundi-Bakongo attached to one men's hut, and the Mazinga and Kikwimba to another, until about 1945 when the client groups obtained their freedom to return to their villages of origin.

In the late fifties several houses belonging to the younger generation of the Nsundi and the Bwende were built northward from where the major hamlet center had been (#14a). The Nsundi group being relatively small, this posed no challenge to lineage solidarity. In 1964 however, when the most dynamic of the Bwende males married, he abandoned his youth's hut (#12) for a site ostensibly on Bwende land (#14b), in mute defiance of his Nsundi elders.

Kimbanga (con't)

In 1922 the Kimbanga and their client groups left Nseke-Nkenge (#10) for an adjoining savanna plateau, Nseke-Banyumbulu or Kimbonza (#11). In 1927 with the growing influence of the junior sub-lineage of Kimbanga, out of which Sobisa, the long-term Kisiasia village duki and lineage headman, stemmed, the Kimbanga moved to Nseke-Mikisu, or Kisiasia (#12), where they resided until 1965. The senior line of the Kimbanga resided at the top of the hill (#12), the junior lineage downward to the northeast (#12a), and the client groups westward (#12c). Shortly after 1960 the junior generation of the senior line expanded southeastward (#12b). In 1965-6 the junior generation of the junior line began a gradual relocation to Mayala (#12d) and early in 1966 erected a new men's hut in the center of their settlement, a tacit challenge to their own seniors (#12b) and the senior sub-lineage (#12), to follow them in the new location.

CHAPTER V

RITUAL AND JURAL COMPONENTS OF CORPORATE IDENTITY

Native Anthropology of the Manianga

From one point of view the interlaced structure of Manianga corporate descent groups can be said to be maintained through jural rights and obligations among individuals. However, equally validly, it might be said that the same corporate groups are defined in terms of descent, witchcraft, the naming patterns of individuals, and similar symbolic and ideal domains each possessing a measure of logical uniqueness, which like projective systems then coalesce with notions regarding the nature of the individual. By reconstructing some of the more significant symbolic and ideational "building blocks" of this anthropology it can be determined what the ritual manipulation of these elements means in the social setting.

It is at best difficult to obtain a congruence of views on the subject of "native anthropology". Firstly, not all specialists such as healers, dignitaries, prophet-seers, and intelligent layman have similar ideas on the matter. Secondly, varying answers appear from one generation to the next, so that an inquirer of popular philosophy may receive not only divergent replies, but thinned down modern versions of traditional ideas. Nonetheless, it is encouraging that there is a basic agreement between writers on the broad points.

For Van Wing (1959:283) the Kongo view of man reduces to four principal elements: (1) the nitu, or body, is the outer man; (2) the blood, menga, in which resides the mooyo, soul, (3) the mfumu kutu, "chief of the ear", a person's double, his shadow and sensate soul, and finally (4) his zina, name, comprise the inner man. As could be expected, Van Wing's interpretation of Kongo native anthropology reflects a strong Thomistic orientation. His avoidance of the concept of mpeeve, vital spirit, although he does mention it in connection with the notion of mooyo, soul, would lead to a mistakenly static view of Kongo anthropology. For Fukiau (1964b:14; 1966a:12-13; personal communications) the outer man is kinsumunu, a physiognomy perceived by another individual reminiscent of the ancient Kongo stone tomb-sculptures posed quietly--eternally--with chin resting in hand, in contrast to spirit, mpeeve, the inner part of man which remains when "the shell is scraped away". The mpeeve becomes apparent in an individuals' resilience and inherent capabilities, his ability to resist disease, to be a brilliant orator, and in physical agility the facility to "dodge an arrow". All of these inner qualities are subsumed in the muntunwa'muntu, the essential vital being of a person. In addition to the more general "Geist"-like qualities implied in the mpeeve and the muntuunwa, an individual possesses a "chief of the ear", similarly to Van Wing's reconstruction, and a name. However for Fukiau, each of these latter two elements, just as, I suspect, the mpeeve, is further subdivided into two complementary principles. The "chief of the ear", for Fukiau, is a little epi-persona with contrasting characteristics of both trickster and guardian angel. Simultaneously he can feign having definitively departed from a person, thereby bringing on death, and lirk nearby to see if he is missed, i.e., if the kinsmen of the "sleeping" individual will begin calling for the "chief of the ear" to return. But since the "chief of the ear" is reputed to make transmigrations into other people's dreams and imaginations it is considered necessary that the other stable aspect of the "chief of the ear" remain on guard. Thus an individual has one "chief" to guide in conscious affairs and another to watch over, specifically, the breathing and the circulation of the blood. To the zina name, referred to by Van Wing, Fukiau adds a counterpart name of nkumbu, important in sex-differentiated as well as descent-group name inheritance. Fukiau's anthropology thus reflects a latent dualism not as evident in Van Wing's reconstruction.

Laman's work (1962:1-9) is rich but because of its lack of synthesis somewhat confusing. He too makes a basic distinction in Kongo anthropology between the outer shell of man, vuvudi, and the inner invisible man, mvumbi, the latter of which is said to carry on a constant struggle against witchcraft. But even more important than this dichotomy between the outer, evident, and the inner, invisible, man, is the dualism drawn between kivuumunu, muvuumununu, (from vumuna, to breathe, to live), and moyo, (live, belly, or stomach). These two latter aspects comprise the two principal aspects of man, ngudi za muuntu zazole (literally, the two mothers of man). Fully aware that the patent "spiritualism" inherent in Laman's Kongo anthropology may reflect his Protestant roots as much as Van Wing's Catholicism does his Kongo anthroplogy, we can with some profit however take note of certain obvious connections between the main principles of man drawn up by Laman and the descent ideology of the Kongo. Kivuumunu, as has been noted, derives from vumuna, to breathe, or to live. Related to this is vuumu, the fetus of a pregnant woman as well as the group of descendants from a common "mother";

kimvumina, from the same verbal root, as maternal milk. What apparently distinguishes kivuumunu (life, breath) from moyo (likewise life, but also stomach and womb) is that the former is active whereas the latter is a passive principle. This distinction corresponds to--and may actually be based on--the common Kongo image of "container" and "contained", or "passage, path" and "that which passes". The two complementarily opposed life principles are further characterized in that kivuumunu, as active, is also independent, self sufficient, carrying its own strength and perpetuation, whereas mooyo, as passive, is dependent upon food or nutrition for its sustainence. Body fluids are classified along these two lines. The nlangu lua lulendo, fluid of power, i.e., ambiguity, comprises (1) mante, saliva, applicable in blessing or cursing; (2) mansangasa, tears, apparent in joy or sorrow; (3) kiufuta, perspiration, evident in rejoicing or suffering; (4) masuba, urine, present in healing or playing; and (5) menga, blood, used also in blessing or cursing. The nlangu lua mooyo, fluid of life, i.e., of constancy and sacredness, includes (6) maluma, semen, masculine, dominant, and active; and (7) mampemba, milk, which is feminine, secondary, and passive (Fukiau 1966a:23).

The functional differentiation of these principles can be discerned even more emphatically if we examine them in dysfunctional instances of sorcery and witchcraft. Kivuumunu, as the prefix suggests, is a generic term; on this level on hardly speaks of witchcraft and sorcery. However kivuumunu, manifested at the specific level in an individual's mwela, soul, his mpeeve, individual spirit, or nsala, life spirit, etc., is in these three types of embodiment thought to be vulnerable to witchcraft and sorcery. But whereas witchcraft is said to "eat" an individual's portion of kivuumunu as positive, active, substantial content of life, mooyo as container and passive formal aspect of life is said to be "closed" by witchcraft. In recent years the distinction between vuumu and mooyo has become blurred somewhat in usage, but the complementarity of active and passive, contained and container, that which passes and passage all as opposed concepts, is operationally still very current. Thus at a marriage the bride's kinsmen, both paternal and maternal, promise not to "follow" her to "close her womb".

The dualism of complementarily-opposed principles evident in Laman's and Fukiau's Kongo anthropologies, and to a lesser extent in Van Wing's, penetrates to the roots of social structure, ritual, and expressive symbolism. The accent is placed not upon the distinction between the "inner" and "outer" man, or between the "flesh" and the "spirit" as such, but upon the ambiguous double-sided forces behind every unitary expression of the whole, whatever the context. Every individual human being is at once male and female, creator and destroyer, container and contained; the "chief of the ear" is within all individuals both the trickster and the guardian angel; every person has a zina and a nkumbu name possibility, just as he is linked with two descent communities (Fukiau 1966a:12). The totality of such dualistic dimensions are relevant in diverse ways and contexts; they are not coterminous, but rather relevant in a multitude of combinations in a specific context.

According to native descent theory, a human being is conceived through the joining of male substance with the containing, receptacle feature of female substance. A child is carried by its mother, and belongs at birth to its mother's clan and descent group, but it is equally generated by, and blood-linked with, its father. In name inheritance, character reincarnation, and the transference of individual idiosyncracies, emphasis is placed on sex-differentiated transmission of features, so that father usually transmits "male" features and mother "female" counterpart features.

In the dramatic structure of myths these dualistic dimensions are often brought into interaction, revealing their essential properties in the context of social life. The entire field of sex-differentiation is, for example, cogently dramatized in the myth of the separation into two sexes of the original unitary, self-sufficient, androgynous being Mahuungu.

The Myth of Mahuungu

The first heroic human figure, according to the text of this myth, was an androgynous, unified, self-perpetuating creature embodying in his solitary being all human features. Both male and female, he could, like certain plants, perpetuate his race without having to depend upon harmonious social relations. He was one, unitary, and total. One day, however, Mahuungu danced around the "palm of God" (ba dia Nzambi, or mutie-Mpuungu) in a clockwise rotational direction and having completed the first round he found himself divided into two beings, male and female. Seeking reunification of his duality, Mahuungu returned counterclockwise--the direction of harmony in healing rites--but without avail. Perplexity, sorrow, and "first thoughts" ensued because Mahuungu, now heterosexual, could no longer be the "child of a single parent". First thoughts resulted in the creation of the marriage institution, whereby man must periodically resolve the primordial problem of separation.

The Mahuungu myth was the ideologic and symbolic focal point of the Lemba association in the Manianga and further to the West in the Khimba association (where the name Thafu Maluangu was associated with the androgynous figure). During the culminating stage of initiation into the Lemba the second, counter-clockwise, rotation of Mahuungu in quest of unity was reinacted by the Lemba novice and his Lemba "father" around the tree planted in the circle for this occasion. Following the swearing of the oath by the novice he was handed his Lemba satchel which contained, in addition to various symbols indicative of his new role, a statuette of Mahuungu in a "post-separation" or hermaphroditic state. Fidelity to the Lemba creed and its interdictions gave the Lemba priest power to heal; the rules also had a strong bearing on the Lemba marriage with his principal wife. In other words, the Lemba priest, patronized by Mahuungu, was given the important role of restoring unity, peace, health, and prosperity to the society in which he lived. In contemporary times (ca. post-1921) the Lemba has been abandoned, but the healing rituals and most dance patterns, reinact the second circle of Mahuungu in a counter-clockwise direction to restore unity, harmony, strength. The Manianga prophets' healing rite, although many of the individual prophets are unaware of the Mahuungu story, copies the ritual structure for much the same reason.

The Mahuungu myth can be analyzed for meaning at various levels. It is simultaneously a statement regarding the "fall" from unity of Kongo man as well as the statement of how through ritual manipulation of symbols unity can be reachieved in the midst of dichotomy of opposed yet complementary principles. As such, it provides a modular key to the understanding of descent, naming, marriage, healing, and reconciliation, all important ritual aspects of Kongo-Manianga society.

Summarily interpreted, Mahuungu pre-partum is a representation among other things of the sibling set with a common parental identification, here refering to the father. Mahuungu's separation and marriage, post-partum, simultaneously and in the same terms defines incest as marriage between siblings and resolves the problem of separation by normatively prescribing cross-cousin marriage, i.e., between those who each have one sex-linked substance which their parents hold in common. While all marriage in a generalized way "unifies" sex-defined substance, cross-cousin marriage links specific lines, if conceived as double direct cross-cousin marriage.

But since double direct cross-cousin marriage, as will be shown elsewhere, is not practiced, although it serves as the logical base of kinship categories, the sibling set represented by Mahuungu can be seen with alternative emphasis as both (1) "children" of a single father, and (2) as the sibling set proper, the basis of the matrilineal descent group. As the former, Mahuungu's marriage can be seen as a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, the preferred marriage form in the Manianga which serves the metaphysical purpose of "unification" when a male individual marries his father's sister's daughter he is implicated in a bond which reunites male and female lines descending from a common source, the union of his paternal grandparents. Patrilateral cross-cousin marriage is, appropriately, called mvutudulu a menga, a returning of the blood. Neither the reunification of male and female substance of his father's matriline, nor the notion of "returning the blood" are appropriate to the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage form. This may be illustrated graphically.

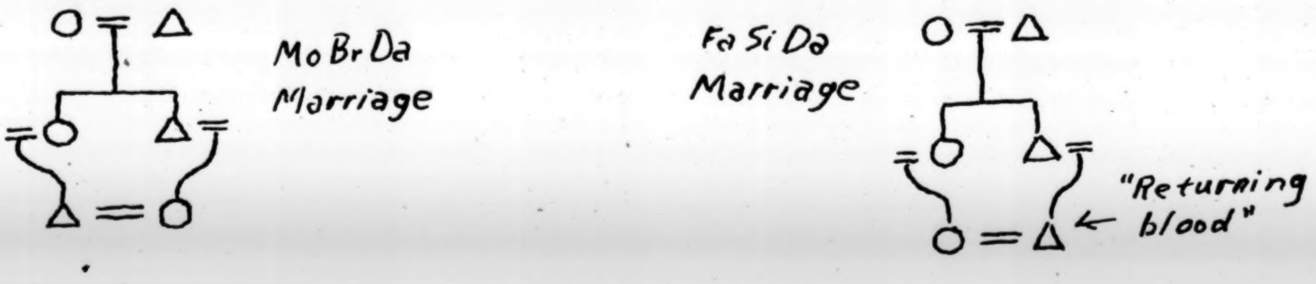

Fig. 12. --"Returning blood" and bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

The patrilateral cross-cousin marriage thus manipulates the sex-differentiated descent substances so as to channel traits and rights back to the common lineal stock of the father, in concordance with the path of economic goods exchanged between matrilineages.

Viewed alternatively from the perspective of the sibling set as the focal point of the matrilineage, the Mahuungu myth represents the only way in which it (the matrilineage), made up of sex-differentiated authority and descent roles, can persist and still retain an ideal and unified image of itself. Mahuungu, pre-partum, is this ideal unification of the two functions. But by the very nature of the matrilineal descent group such a state of affairs is forbidden, to the extent that it becomes the definition of incest. Yet, paradoxically, the unified sex roles of descent and authority are made sacred, sacred and forbidden. Put otherwise, the matrilineage must separate, marry out, in order to remain unified. Thus the superficial paradox that a society which is predominately matrilineal should define incest prohibition in terms of common paternity, is resolved if it be seen that the incest rule ultimately serves the purpose of uniting the matrilineage--by dividing it at every generation. This would confirm Levi-Strauss's contention that marriage prohibition is strictly a function of alliance or exchange groups and not primarily of biologically-nor even of descent-defined groups (1949:601-607).

The position of the sibling set of individuals of both sexes who share a common "father" and "mother", between the two descent groups with which they are identified, sets forth as a guiding principle many of Manianga society's values. This double and/or alternative identity, as social ambivalence, provides the most significant imagery of healing and fecundity ritual, for preferential marriage, for social renewal, and even for legitimate rebellion.

Descent Symbolism and Ideology

Levi-Strauss (1949:144) has suggested that the elucidation of sex-differentiated descent lines provides only a "lazy explanation" of the phenomenon of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. What is called for ultimately is an understanding rather of manipulation of descent-charged symbols such as "blood" theory, name inheritance, right transference, and so on, for the purpose of defining and perpetuating the corporate descent group. The elements of descent, and the lines of transference, i.e., filiation, constitute the content of social relations (Leach 1965:16). An inquiry into the nature of descent symbolism and ideology does have the usefulness then of clarifying the inner logic of manipulation. This must be understood before jural structure can be recognized.

Blood symbolism and ideology, first of all, is one of the principal elements of social relationship content in Manianga society. There is thin but consistent evidence pointing to a distinction of paternal and maternal blood in keeping with other sex-differentiated substances. Menga is commonly used to refer to all types of blood. But specialists such as healers sometimes speak of kila, or mukila (pl., makila) as a complementary, and possibly even anterior, term for blood (Laman: 1936).[1] In its verbal form kila means to throw or kick, or to cut up in pieces. It may also refer to the male sex organ. The phrase vuumu kyeti kila draws upon the active principle of life, kivuumunu, as well as the blood designatum identical with the male sex to denote the living and active character of the fetus within a woman's womb. Sexual intercourse during pregnancy, subsequently, is said to keep the fetus firm and steady in the sense that mooyo, the passive principle of life residing in the maternal blood, receives nutrition and strength. A woman is thus the receptacle of her husband's active, male substance (Laman 1962:5), and the child is said to be formed around the semen introduced by the father.

It is thus abundantly clear that an individual in Kongo-Manianga society is consanguinally related to both father and mother, in terms, at least, of blood ideology. Although he becomes a member of his mother's lineage at birth, he is said to be butwa kwa, "born of", his father. But precisely how this combination of factors is to be defined in terms of anthropological theory has remained a source of confusion in the literature of Kongo ethnologists such as Van Wing, De Cleene and De Jonghe, who overemphasize the strictly matrilineal nature of Kongo descent. Torday was one of the first writers to accommodate the paternal element in Kongo descent (Radcliffe-Brown & Forde 1960:214). He called attention to the homage a bride pays at the time of her marriage to the spirits of her father's matriclan, her paternal grandfather's matriclan, and her maternal grandfather's matriclan, and concluded from these mystical attachments of an individual that the Kongo system is one of double descent. Although he had recognized an important element in Kongo descent, he failed to clarify the exact nature of the paternal link in other circumstances, and reaped the discredit of most subsequent writers.

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[1] I can neither refute nor verify the contention of Madeko, herbalist-obstetrician of the village of Kintwala in the Upper Manianga that menga as a term for blood is of European, i.e., foreign, origin and that kila is the only traditional term for blood of this region.

Another early writer, Pechuel-Loesche, who lived among the Northern Kongo in Loango, northward from where Torday made his investigations, seems to have grasped even better the nature of Kongo descent combinations. He notes among the Loango of 1875 that sex-linked elements can be divided between Kopfschaft, identified with the father, and Schnurschaft, identified with the mother. Inheritance from, or identification with, the father is focused in the head, in the spiritual and existential qualities of an individual, inheritance from and identification with the mother in the placenta, through which an individual receives his composite body (Pechuel-Loesche 1907:467).

Pechuel-Loesche has, in the opinion of this writer, seized upon the fundamental principle of Kongo descent. What exists is not, strictly speaking, a double descent system, although there are clearly inherent consanguinal features inherited along a sex-linked dichotomy. We cannot, either, speak of a strict bilateral system since there are obvious elements passed along sex-differentiated lines from father to son, and mother to daughter. Pechuel-Loesche interprets, correctly, the qualitative difference in paternal and maternal links. Thus although the Kongo can be conceived as a matrilineal society in jural terms, there are obvious spiritual and mystical links transferable only along patrilateral lines. And when the paternal identity extends out to father's father, as is the case in certain things, there is a hint even of a limited patrilineal, or double descent, function. Descent and the composition of the individual must be conceived of as possessing various dimensions, in some of which the filiation is assumed or fixed, others of which it is ambivalent and subject to the exigencies of circumstance.

Thus, for example, an individual is born a member of his mother's lineal descent group, but he is also "born in" his father's matrigroup. He resides with his classificatory "fathers" until puberty, or even later if he is bound to them in clientage. He holds immediate access rights to his own matrilineal estate, but also possesses life-long rights to the estate land of his father's group, and rights of shorter duration to his paternal grandfather's matrilineage estate, as well as to that of his maternal grandfather's matrilineage estate. He is responsible to his mother's brothers in a jural sense, but he retains a perpetual right of sanctuary before his classificatory fathers.

An individual is fully and irrevocably a member of his matrilineage, but in a variety of descent-related rights he has recourse to the other three of "four corners of an individual", namely his father's, father's father's, and mother's father's group identity. This, then, is a wider version of what Torday incorrectly called double descent. The essence of the alternative identity of an individual is based upon the opposition of father to mother's brother, of the individual's intermediary position between the two corporate groups. In a wide variety of situations this essential ambivalence if identity is extended so that an individual's position is transposed to father's and/or mother's place in the kinship system.

In certain situations the maximum ranges of an individual's four-part identity are utilized. For example, to enhance his chances of prosperity in business, in marriage, or in any undertaking, or to seek remedy from illness, sterility, or misfortune, an individual may seek the blessing of his "four corners", ndambu ziiya za muuntu (see fig. 13). In yet other situations an individual's two or four part identity emerges in contrapuntal or political form. For example, nothing opens the ears of mother's brothers more quickly than their knowledge that one has offered a prayer or plaint to one's paternal ancestors.

Against this backdrop of some of the dynamic variables inherent in the Kongo-Manianga descent system we may examine in somewhat more detail particular identifiable domains such as alleged inheritance of thieving, name inheritance, and the like. These are quite recognizable domains--especially naming--which manifest less ascriptive character than clan and lineage membership. Consider the following statement by an informant questioned about descent:

> A person is recognized as descending from his father as well as his mother because he inherits certain qualities and deformities by blood; as the proverb states, "nsengila kwa n'kila: yo ka ngudi ko, taata" (literally, "the Cercopithecus cynosurus monkey's tail length, if it doesn't come from the

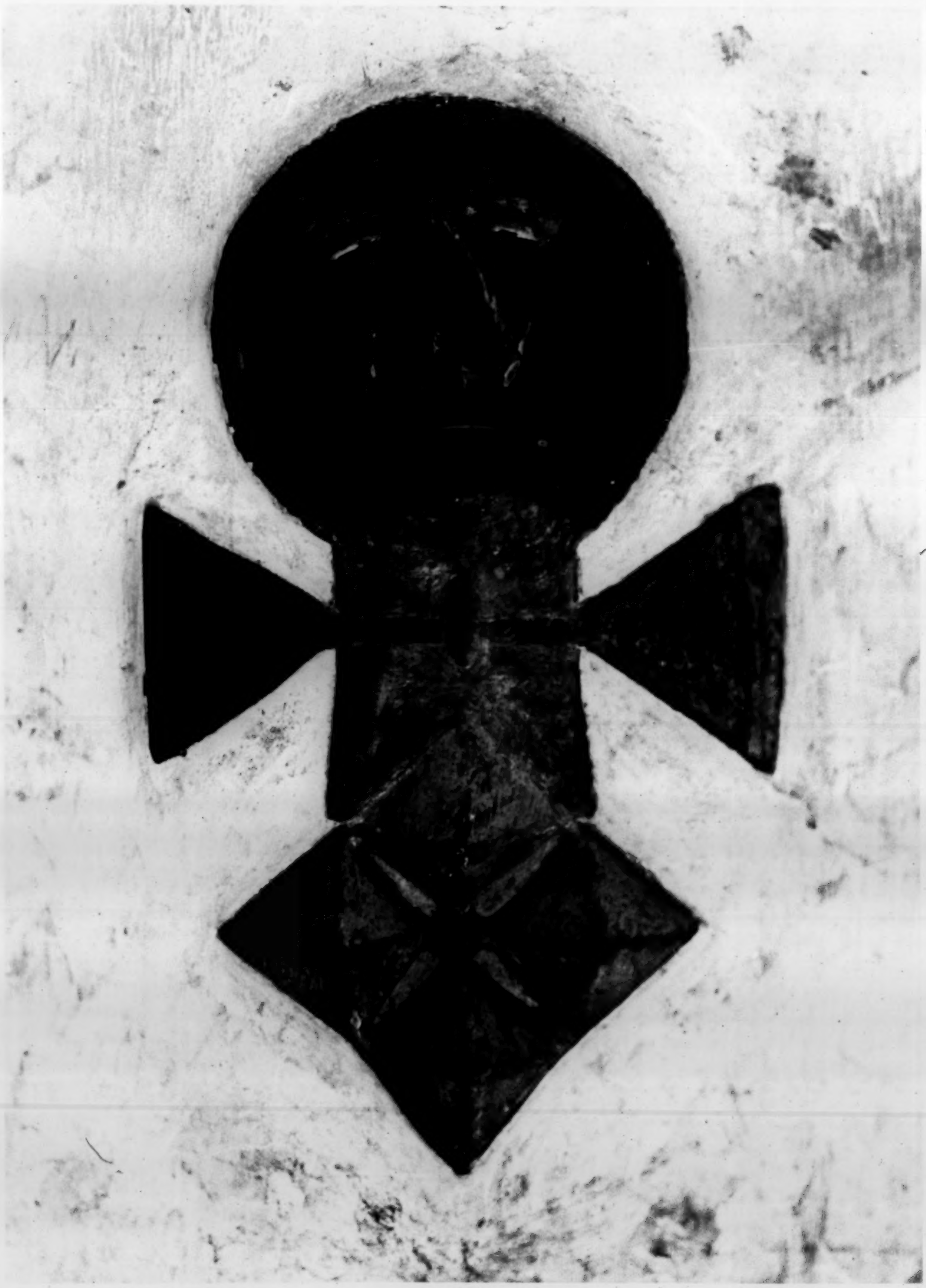

Fig. 13.—Wall figure in low relief cement sculpture depicting the "four corners of man" (Palabala Village)

13 Fig 13.- wall figure in low relief cement sculpture

> mother, it is from the father." Or, "wabutwa kuuna, yenda kuuna" (lit., "one goes there where one is born", i.e., one's character takes the direction, or is formed, in the natal village, in particular, the father's).
>
> As I have told you, a thief passes on his qualities of thievery (as in the example given of a woman who inherited thieving from a long-deceased matrilineal ancestress), I repeat that a father can pass his good qualities or his bad qualities or conduct to either his son or his daughter. The same holds true of a mother. But very often (the order of inheritance) is from father to son and from mother to daughter.

Descent combinations cited here include those of patrilineality, from father to children, matrilineality, from mother to children, as well as sex-differentiated descent, from father to son and from mother to daughter. Undifferentiated bilateral descent is implicitly excluded in these and other statements not mentioned here in the "if . . . , then" and "either . . . , or" conditioning phrases often heard in this connection.

Naming patterns provide perhaps the best example of descent pattern possibilities. Names are, as suggested above, more than labels, but are expressive of metaphysical realities and often are found to manifest ideas of inherited character and role obligations. There exists a visible continuum ranging from kinship terms, title roles, group (clan and lineage, etc.,) names, place names, tree and river names, and ad hoc personal names. Ranging from attachment to generalized or particularized referents, these terms, titles, and names relate referent to object or person or role, creating a recognizable identity relationship. One such identity relationship set deals with twinship, the child preceding twins, and the child following twins. Nzuzi is the name of the first twin; Nsimba, he who "hung on," the second-born, Massamba the one who opened the way for twins, and Milandu the one who followed twins.

In byegone days, and still today to a degree when Maniangans have taken to utilizing Biblical and European names, every individual had the right to carry two names, the zina and the nkumbu. The zina was apparently linked to the totem or "double" system (Fukiau 1966:3; Pechuel-Loesche 1907:456,470) and committed its holder to a certain set of prohibitions. Among commoners of former times the zina passed most often from father to children; less frequent, although by no means prohibited, was the transfer of zina name and interdiction from mother to children. A third alternative was the inheritance along sex-linked lines from father to son and from mother to daughter (1907:465). Laman (1962:211-15) notes that among the "Nsundi" of former times the guardian animal spirit konkonko identity was inherited from the father only.[1] The term nkumbu denotes the idea of kinship distance in degree, but it may also refer to the reiteration of a series of similar events such as successive harvests or of stages of generational differentiation, i.e., something that is characteristically recurring yet similar.

A few informants explain the profusion of hyphenated place, lineage, tree, river, and personal names on the basis of the mystically-oriented zina and the occasional or place specific nkumbu name complementarity. In one local clan section of Kisiasia can be found names such as Ngoma-Kakala, meaning Ngoma, son of, or born to, the matriline of Kakala; similarly, Mapiala-Nzeka, Nsuma-Mazinga, and so forth. Although the zina-nkumbu distinction and complementarity are by no means clear in contemporary times, one may find the following pattern variables in naming in local genealogies:

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[1] Apparently the system of double name inheritance with overtones of reincarnation was widespread in West and Central Africa. Quirini reports a similar practice among the Bayansi of the Lower Kwilu (1952:500); Forde has described a somewhat similar bilineal inheritance system among the Yako of Nigeria (1939). Herskovits' description of the ntoro and mogya distinction among the Ashanti is strikingly similar (1937). For a fuller discussion of the implications of double name inheritance and the attendant character reincarnation in connection with exogamy rules and cross-cousin marriage, see Levi-Strauss (1949:133-38).

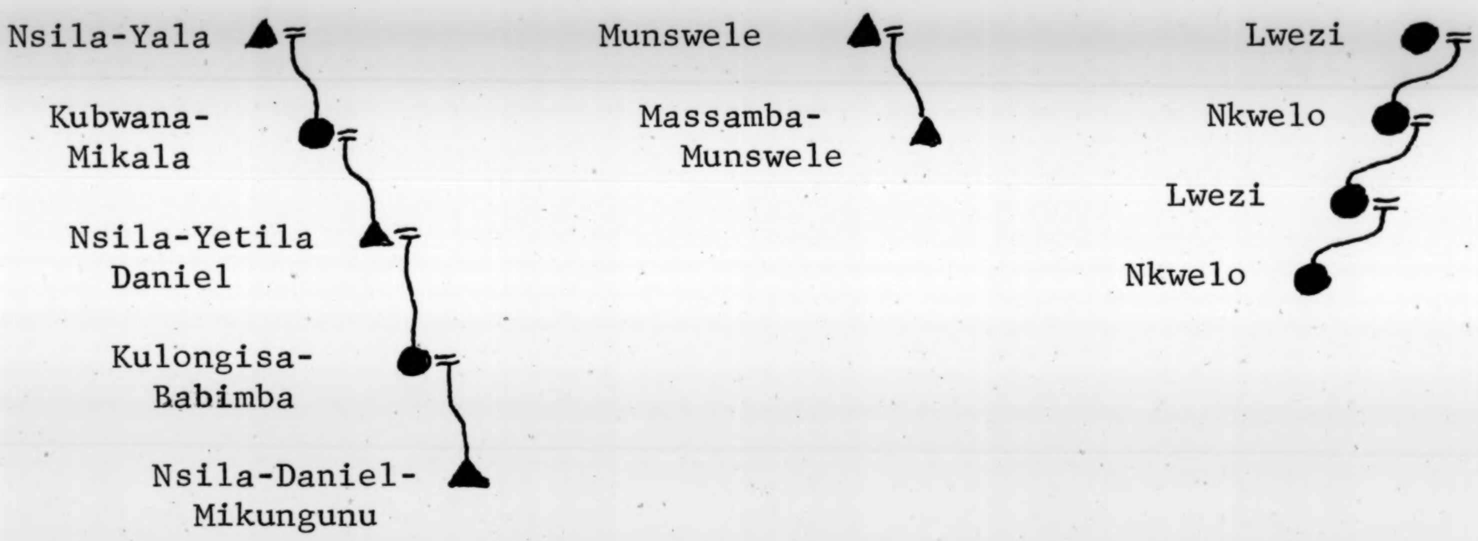

Fig. 14.--Name inheritance pattern alternatives

In contemporary times all types of name inheritance are refered to as *ndukulu a ndusi*, meaning literally to make a descendant a homonym with an ancestor; to varying degrees this implies actual name and character reincarnation. In theory at least a child cannot be given the name of a forbear until this latter has deceased. The mystical relationship between living and dead is similar in theory to the *ndoyi* (name homonym relationship outside of the kinship network) institution, in which the two parties are expected to exchange gifts and services.

A final picture as to the purpose of name inheritance of the zina and nkumbu or the luka ndusi institution can be gotten if we ask the question what would it be like if carried out to its logically complete form. If this were possible--it is not for reasons soon disclosed--females would inherit their name identity from their matrilineal grandmothers, males from either their father, their mother's fathers, or any one of the "four corners of a person" enumerated above. Each individual would retain his unique name-identity, but in terms of his zina he would be reduced to a depersonalized generationally-based role figure and allied qua his generation and relative kinship status with another matrilineage through his "four corners". Assuming preferential patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, the over-all effect of such a hypothetically complete state of affairs on the society would be to render the lineage and outside relations timeless, i.e., eternal and cyclical, as well as absolute and apolitical.

Such closure at the level of the matrilineage, however, never occurs, due to ambiguities within the system. Its very logic is at root illogical, in structural terms. The desire of male members of the matrilineage to keep their offspring with them so that these latter might marry their nieces and thereby "butila mboongo baantu mu kaanda kiau" (literally, to give birth to people-riches in their matrilineage) strongly counteracts the isolationary and eternalization tendencies within the matrilineage. In other words, although the ideal state of the matrilineage as set forth in the original androgynous Mahuungu figure is self sufficient, timeless, and eternal, it is, in fact, incestuous. That is, it cannot function in isolation. There is no way out but to remain in contact with other lineages if society is to continue. The zina reincarnation, at least traditionally, symbolized the dependence of every matrilineal line upon another complementary similar matrilineage. Only the nobility of ancient times, powerful enough to remain relatively autonomous politically by marrying its clients, came close to perfect exclusion of the patrilateral zina identity (Pechuel-Loesche, 1907:470).

One final illustration of descent mechanisms in Kongo-Manianga society will suffice to show how the symbolic content of social relations is brought to bear upon the definition of social structural process. According to native theory kundu is that consciously or unconsciously held attribute of inherent power over other members of the matrilineage characteristically assigned to bandoki (witches, anti-social individuals) and bamfuumu (literally chiefs, but also strong individuals in roles of authority).[1] Kundu power, unlike some forms of kindoki, is said to be be randomly inherited within the matrilineal descent group and is held usually by one or two living members believed to have either a special kundu gland or at least "something inherent" of a special strength. By definition, kundu "costs lives" of other in the lineage. Those who use their kundu power for the detriment of the corporate lineage by "eating" or "choking" the mwela, mpeeve, or nsala of others to an excessive degree for their own rebellious benefit are defined as bandoki (witches) and are dealt with accordingly, whereas those who utilize their kundu constructively for the general good of the corporate group will, it is felt, gravitate into superior positions of authority in the genealogically-defined hierarchy. Kundu, in brief, is symbolic of the ambivalence of power and is called on alternatively to explain corporate unity and corporate disintegration. It is a concomitant of matrilineal descent.

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[1] Witchcraft may be defined as involuntary, inherent, and hereditarily-acquired malevolent influence of one individual over other, often by inference "after the event", and sorcery as deliberate and conscious malevolent intentions of a person over other, somewhat along the lines of the distinction made by Evans-Pritchard (1937). Turner has correctly pointed out the need, however, for more "dynamic" treatment of the problem than this specific dichotomy created originally for Azande society (1964:314-324).

In practice kundu is a function of authority within the matrilineage defining role relationships between subordinate and superordinate such as mother's brother and sister's son. The implicit role defining aspect of this relationship hinges on the jural element of "possession" of the inferior by his superior, thus of the very nature of internal lineage organization and effective corporate group boundary definition. A few specific examples of manipulation of this element will demonstrate how matrilineal descent and kundu are in fact a function of the social relations which we define in terms of rights and obligations.

> Several children of an emancipated teacher and his wife had suffered from chronic illness for some years. Visits to local medical centers failed to bring about an effective cure. In due time the children's father concluded that his wife's brother was bewitching, or exercising his kundu power upon, the children. The father's matrilineage conducted an open meeting to determine what should be done. It was established that one source of the disease hinged on the father's refusal to relinquish his sons so that they might return to the tutelage of their mother's brother, as custom normally requires. For a year following this meeting nothing specific was done and the children remained sickly. In the meantime, however, their uncle had developed a festering eye sore from which people acquainted with this affair concluded that he and the father--through the children--were having it out in witchcraft. Another lineage meeting was held then in which the father of the children announced that he would resort to purchasing his wife from her uncle, her "possessor", thereby to sever his rights over the children and put to an end his spell over them as well. Observers were shocked by this proposal yet many believed it would produce the desired effect. I asked several people whether the wife would then not become a member of her

> husband's lineage. They said not; but if she, or her children or any matrilineal descendents of hers' would henceforth want to return to their lineage they would, just as hereditary slaves, have to pay their "fathers" a ransom, plus, for future generations, the lusansu (formation, upbringing, paternal blessing) fee normally gotten by a father when his daughter marries and by a master when releasing hereditary slaves.

By the time I left the community in March of 1966 this affair had not been settled. Contrary to what some persons thought, the act of ritual transfer of the possessor role from mother's brother to husband, in an effort to end an illness of the woman's children, is already mentioned as a common practice of several decades earlier (Laman 1957:59). The transfer of jus in rem from mother's brother to husband and father illustrates clearly the manner by which descent-related aspects such as witchcraft effectiveness are in fact cultural or symbolic modes contingent upon the jural character of particular role relations. By transfering rights of possession the mother's brother was believed to lose his power over his sister's children.

A further sequel to this case is the fact that by making himself the juridical "mother's brother", i.e., the possessor, of his own children, the father ostensibly would acquire total power over them, thereby opening the relationship to the type in which witchcraft, commonly held to be endemic to the matrilineage, would become a strong possibility between them. In effect, the patrilateral tie is not irrevocably different from the matrilineal. It is for this reason that the patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, normally the alliance form which maximizes cooperation between two descent lines, is not practiced on a double direct basis, but is limited to a single occurance each generation.

The foregoing examples of descent-related symbolism such as that found in name inheritance and witchcraft have brought out the manner in which ambivalent features of the total social system are resolved in ritual manipulation of these same symbols. Just as the Mahuungu myth resolves the sex-role distinction between descent and authority functions of the matrilineage by making sacred and forbidden the ideal state of the endogamous matrilineage and by positing a real or possible state, one remove away in dramatic structure, to achieve the solution in matrilineal descent group exogamy, so the other symbolic manipulations of naming and transfer of rights have resolved more specific problems of social organization. Much of the ritual manipulation in Kongo society hinges on the juxtaposition of an individual as member of his own matrilineage with his simultaneous identity to other matrilineages through patrilateral ties. If there is one modal feature of the Kongo social system that may be singled out for special attention, it is this contrapuntality in which the individual finds himself.

Kin Categories and Corporate Identity

In the preceding section I have examined a number of descent-related domains on the order of symbolic responses to ambivalences in the social system. Here I examine the more significant role relations of the kinship network which in composite form constitute the matrilineal corporate group and its relationships with other descent groups. It will become clear how the contrapuntal connections expressed in descent ideology and symbolism have their correlary in the jural order as well, and crystalize in certain kinship relations that both define the corporate descent group as well as parallel kindred categories which temper the dominance of this group over each individual.

We may begin with a consideration of clan, lineage, sub-lineage, and smaller units. The luvila is usually translated as clan. It is a corporate category based on fictive descent commonality uniting the putative descendants of a common ancestress. Some Kongo clans extend throughout the Kongo-speaking peoples and constitute a limited number of such categories, in contrast to the lineages which through segmentation are unlimited in number. Through the ideology of the "four corners" an individual is identified with the clans of his father, to which he is mwaana, child, his father's father and his mother's father where he is ntekolo, grandchild, in addition to his identification with his own clan. But the clan has no corporate group functions, nor is it exogamous, except perhaps at the lower reaches of a local clan section. The Kimbanga of Kisiasia, for example, do not intermarry with the Kimbanga clan sections of neighboring hamlets.

The dikanda may refer alternatively to race or nation and to lineage. There is a metaphorical similarity between the two usages in that an ethnic unit such as the Kongo people, or the black race, putatively stem from a common origin in like manner to the lineage. But the difference is that the dikanda is defined as the local lineage whose members can trace their common descent back to a real common ancestress genealogically recorded along matrilineally lines. There is some ambiguity in the higher reaches of most makanda because of the need to differentiate the local community from those with which it has segmented. But since the lineage is a corporate policy-making, and estate-holding unit, the genealogical record is as much a tool of political defense and corporate-group identity as it is an accurate record of actual matrilineal descendence. This role of the genealogy in this double function will be discussed shortly below.

In addition to the luvila and the dikanda there is the divumu (pl. mavumu) which can somewhat arbitrarily be defined as the sublineage. Similarly to the dikanda, it too is characterized by common descent traced genealogically to a common ancestress. The distinguishing feature here is that two or more mavumu may live together in the same settlement as members of the same dikanda. The divumu is thus a function of the distinction between offspring of a set of age-differentiated apical ancestress sisters. The divumu sometimes called the mooyo, or the tuuku, origin group, a distinction to dikanda theory, is often the property-holding unit with political power. It is also sometimes therefore the inheritance unit, although it may be subdivided even further into "houses" and "doors of the house", units which elsewhere among the Kongo are designated as the futa (MacGaffey, personal communications; Doutreloux 1966:93).

Because of the shifting definition of these units it is well to remember that they are politically-charged and can be brought to bear in various ways upon a particular situation. Thus because of the implied segmentation in terms such as futa and divumu, members of a dikanda living together and acting corporately will be hesitant when in unision to give recognition to the differences among them. The scale of sliding recognition operative in attaching any specific term to a social group is most apparent in the use of the notion of "house" nzo, and the various "doors of the house", mielo a nzo, used to refer variously to either the dikanda, divumu, or the futa. A "house" thus can have one or many "doors" depending on whether it is solidarity or segmentation that is the desired image one wishes to convey.

These notions concerning socially corporate or conceptually-coherent units can be analyzed further in terms of their elementary characteristics. The Kongo lineage fits Smith's definition as a group of persons differentiated genealogically in terms of descent, and claiming genealogical relations unilineally (1956:39). The first and elemental adjacent position kinship relation to be considered is that between mother and child, in Kikongo ngudi and mwaana. The second relationship of elemental importance is that between brother, nhazi, and sister, busi. From these basic relationships a number of other derivative role relationships arise: that between mother's brother (ngw'a nkazi, literally, male mother, or ngudi a nkazi, mother's brother) and sister's son (mwan'a nkazi, literally, child brother) and others delineating role differentiation within the matrilineage.

The bond between mother and child is ascriptive and ubiquituous. A woman's position and group membership determines that of her children. Projected to a larger scale this also determines one's kingudi, the ascending and descending matrilineal relatives, in contradistinction to one's kise, or kitaata, father's matrilineal relatives ascending and descending (see fig. 15). The relationship to one's mother is the subject of numerous sayings such as "whether she cooks (i.e., provides properly for one) or doesn't, she remains mother"; or, "A child can be stolen, or by adoption receive an education apart, but this doesn't change his buti, his mother". In other words, although an individual receives his

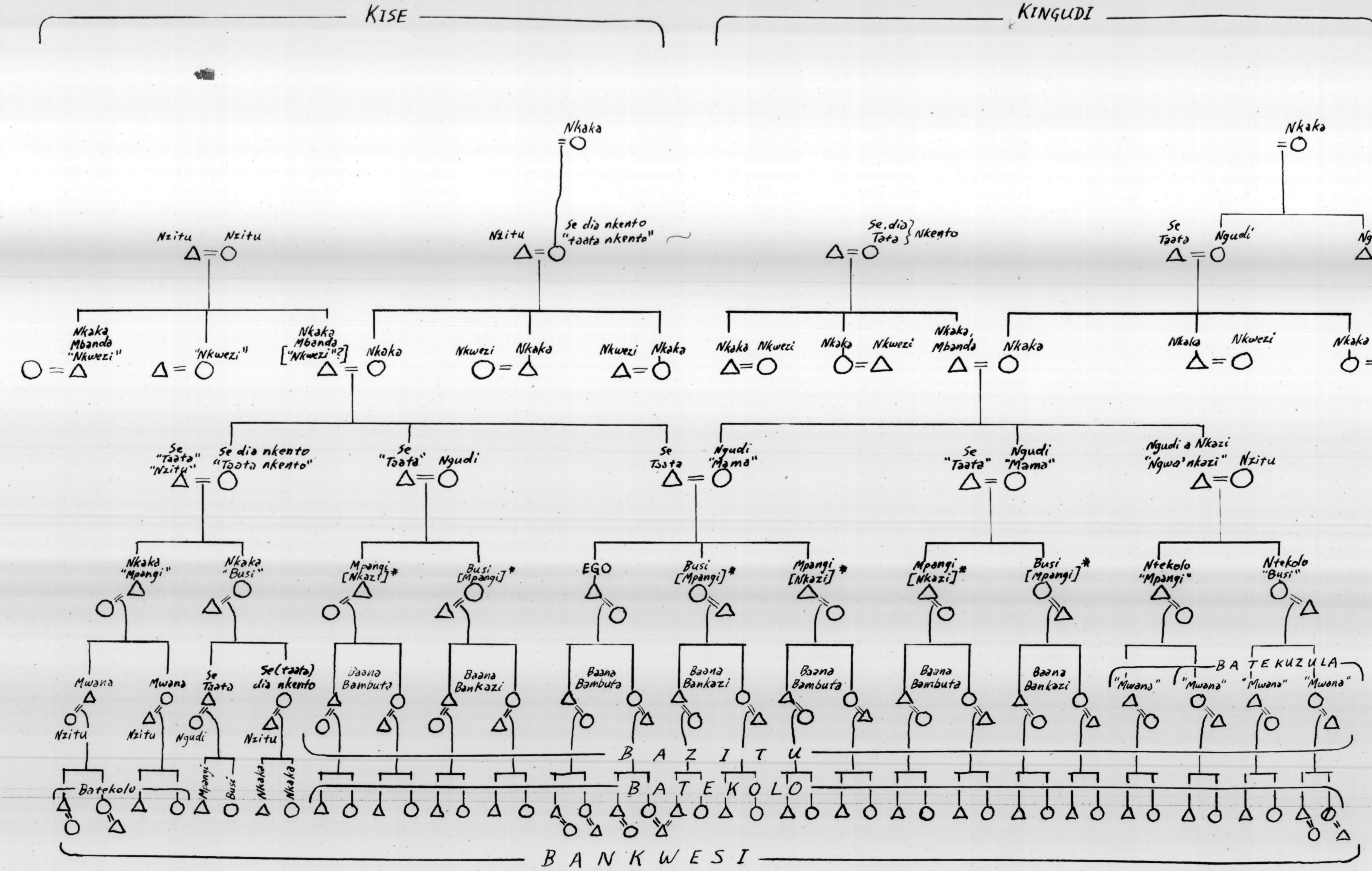
KISE
KINGUDI
Nkaka
Nkaka
Nzitu
Nzitu
Nzitu
Se dia nkento "taata nkento"
Se, dia} Tata { Nkento
Se Taata
Ngudi
Ngudi a Nkazi
Nkaka Mbanda "Nkwezi"
"Nkwezi"
Nkaka Mbanda ["Nkwezi"?]
Nkaka
Nkwezi
Nkaka
Nkwezi
Nkaka
Nkaka
Nkwezi
Nkaka
Nkwezi
Nkaka, Mbanda
Nkaka
Nkaka
Nkwezi
Nkaka
Nkwezi
Se "Taata" "Nzitu"
Se dia nkento "Taata nkento"
Se "Taata"
Ngudi
Se Taata
Ngudi "Mama"
Se "Taata"
Ngudi "Mama"
Ngudi a Nkazi "Ngwa'nkazi"
Nzitu
Nkaka "Mpangi"
Nkaka "Busi"
Mpangi [Nkazi]*
Busi [Mpangi]*
EGO
Busi [Mpangi]*
Mpangi [Nkazi]*
Mpangi [Nkazi]*
Busi [Mpangi]*
Ntekolo "Mpangi"
Ntekolo "Busi"
Mwana
Mwana
Se Taata
Se(taata) dia nkento
Baana Bambuta
Baana Bankazi
Baana Bambuta
Baana Bankazi
Baana Bambuta
Baana Bambuta
Baana Bankazi
BATEKUZULA
"Mwana"
"Mwana"
"Mwana"
"Mwana"
Nzitu
Nzitu
Ngudi
Nzitu
BAZITU
Batekolo
Mpangi
Busi
Nkaka
Nkaka
BATEKOLO
BANKWESI

Fig. 15.—Maniango Kinship Categories

Terms marked thus (*) designate female Ego formation and his upbringing, and his special lusansu blessing from his father and father's kinsmen where he spends his childhood and youth, his corporate group identity is received from his mother. A woman is closest to her children at the start of their lives and at the close of her own. They remain with her in their father's tutelage until they reach the age of puberty, or until their mother's divorce, or, if being girls, until they are married. Children make extended visits to other kinsmen and many attend school, but they "live" with their parents until the age of puberty or beyond. A son may elect to remain with his father for reasons ranging from economic opportunity to personal attachment to his father. Later, if the father dies and the mother is not taken in marriage by his close male kinsmen or someone else, she will return to live out her days in her own matrilineal village and to work the land of her brothers and sons. For a male ego the kinship term ngudi extends to all women of his matrilineage of his mother's generation as well as to the wife of his father's uterine and classificatory brothers. In theory "mother's" mother's mother also falls into this category. Thus in some senses the term ngudi applies to the alternative ascending generations beginning with women of his mother's generation.

The role relationship between brother and sister is more complex because it is replicated in two adjacent generations. Male ego calls all female members of his generation in both his own and his father's matrilineage busi although the role term of his patrilateral cross-cousins is nkaka, "grandparent", and his matrilateral cross-cousins ntekolo, "grandchild". The fact that females of ego's own generation in his father's matrilineage are termed similarly to those in his own matrilineage can be seen as the principle of terminological extension into father's group, a phenomenon which exists at other levels as well. But the term nkazi, which female ego uses for her brothers, is similar to that which both male and female ego utilize for their classificatory mother's brothers, their bangudi a nkazi. There is here a fundamental relationship cutting across ego's and his adjacent senior generation between all nkazi and the women of the matrilineage. Vis-à-vis female ego, a uterine or classificatory brother may thus be similar to uterine or classificatory mother's brother. The basis of this feature of course lies in the vested interest that brothers and mother's brothers have in a girl's potential as perpetuater of the lineage. The term busi, derived from buta, to give birth or to propagate the line, suggests this. In its nominative form buta also denotes the household consisting of a man and woman and their children (Laman, 1936). Polygynous "households" share one common father but constitute separate mabuta.

A sister is seen as an intangible possession of her "brothers". They have the right to marry her and to intervene on her behalf and on behalf of the corporate lineage in the event that she is involved in a suit with her husband's kinsmen or with any outsider. If she outlives her husband and is not taken in a levirate union by a husband's kinsman or by another man, she returns to live with her brothers, or, as the case may be, her sons or uncles. In marriage she is sompwa, loaned, to another lineage. Unless she becomes a debt slave or client, her corporate group rights in her own line are never forfeited.

The appelatory as well as the role terms discussed above, reflect an asymmetrical or complementary solidarity among siblings and co-members of a lineage of the same generation. A "sister" calls her elder and younger "brothers" of the same lineage mbut'ami, my elder, or mfuum'ami, my chief. The complementary term nleke, junior, reserved for age and role inferior males vis-a-vis other males, is however, not used by the women of a lineage, reflecting the status inferiority of women in lineage affairs. Age differentiation, regardless of sex, is however recognized in the term yaya, elder, referring specifically to the descendants of a genealogically defined older sibling of one's common ancestral sisters, the founders of various mavumu, or lineage segments of the same dikanda. The two terms yaya, elder and nleke junior defines rank differentiation between two collateral lines and may entail a certain primacy to succession of lineage offices, a detail which will be studied in the next chapter.

Between brothers, both uterine and classificatory, the relationship is potentially ambivalent; it can be intimate or ridden with suspicion and envy. This is expressed in variable terminology of the relationship. Brother is to brother either mpangi, genealogically equivalent brother; or mbuta, elder; mfuumu, chief; or nleke, junior or inferior; all distinctions depend on relative age, or on the relative seniority of one sublineage over another within a lineage.

It may be said that relationships between brothers tend to reflect the norms of the sister's son-mother's brother relation. Or, to put it differently, elder brother is in practice the same to junior brother as mother's brother is to sister's son. All this is implied in the terminology of nkazi (see fig. 15). In the context of lineage affairs the rule is that a junior must respect his senior whether he be stupid and tyrannical, wise or judicious.

> N. took me to see his garden patch where we checked on the progress of his nsafu trees. He showed me which trees his mother had helped him plant when he was a boy. One of the most heavily-laden trees, however, he said had been robbed from him by his ngw'a nkazi, who without wanting any discussion, had announced one day that it was his. I asked him why he didn't do something about it? He said he couldn't because the man was his mbuta, elder.

The relationship between younger brother and elder brother, as well as that between nephew and uncle, may be rendered brittle by virtue of the fact that authority of the lineage estate, both human and material, is passed from the one generation set to the next. "Ngudi ankazi ye mwana ankazi ka bazolananga ko!" bluntly, "mother's brother and sister's son don't case much for each other". The latter waits upon the former's difwa, inheritance. The relationship is one of respectful tension for the most part although of course it may occasionally be intimate and congenial within the context of deference.

Another dimension of the relationship between mbuta and nleke is summarized in the dictum "matu, kani kudidi; kalendi luta ntu ko!" "the ears when they grow, still cannot surpass the head". Implied in this cryptic phrase of course, is that the mother's brother or elder brother is the "head" and the sister's son and junior brother, the "ears". The image conjured up in the mind of Maniangans when this phrase is spoken is not, however, that of a caricature of the human head with long devil's ears; it alludes quite specifically to the hierarchy of men in a lineage. The kiti kia kinkazi, seat of nkazi-ship, is at the top, or more correctly, spatially before, nkazi's baleke, the junior brothers and sisters' sons who are ranged beside and behind him in the circle. Whence the common gesture of the hand to denote that one's "people" stand behind or alongside their lead man. Nkazi is one of a circle of relative equals each the head of a divumu, or sub-lineage, if the frame of reference is the lineage. The figure of speech and the conceptual image related to it apply equally, however, to all assemblies of an oligarchic formation where bambuta, elders, representatives, senior members, or bankazi hold the first row, each having his baleke or baana bankazi or simply baana, children, behind him taking passive part in the discussion. But such inferiors are also waiting to replace their seniors in the seat of authority of the circle. The proverb alludes directly to this situation and the potential competition with overtones of the witchcraft accusations likely to occur between the front man and those behind him. In terms of the image, if the "ears grow too long" and threaten to "surpass the head", i.e., if the juniors crowd their elder from his seat of authority, or, on the other hand, if he remains too long and holds them back, witchcraft will result. In this there is a sense of fateful inevitability which neither the incumbent nor the successor should violate, the former by asserting himself too long, the latter by asserting himself too soon. The life of man, luzingu lua muuntu (literally, circle of man), revolves from birth to apogee to death; witchcraft, among other things, is interference in this inevitable process.

Thus far, then, I have examined certain of the principle kin role relationships of what Leach (1951:25) terms the "local line". It stands in contradistinction to the "descent line". The former is the social group in time in which individuals act, in which tensions and accords are evident, and in which the social realities reflected in kinship role concepts occur. The latter is the abstraction made by anthropologists of the lineage through time or the genealogies made by natives as an ideological statement of corporate group identity and policy.

In Kongo-Manianga society, just as in many other societies presumably, the lineage genealogy is a highly strategic bundle of information indispensible in the defense, of the corporate estate, in the maintenance of links with other corporate groups. It also indicates the studied degree of alienation between segments of a formerly-united lineage, as almost predictable lapses of genealogy memory occur. It is only secondarily an objective historical document, and as such, notoriously inaccurate and pliable.

Nevertheless, as ideological and symbolical statement of what the local line is all about, the genealogy can be studied with a great deal of profit. There is, for example, a great deal of difference between the genealogies of free land-owning lineages and those of client descent groups. This is true because the genealogical record is a function of relative descent group ranking. The genealogy is itself based on the sex differentiated roles of descent and authority. In a "mature" lineage such as the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini or the Kimbanga of Kisiasia, the genealogical record consists of a list of successive holders of the office of lineage headman (kiti kia kinkazi, literally, the seat of nkazi-ship), as well as a list of matrilineally-determined descendants from an apical common ancestress (see fig. 16). This dual genealogical record is not so clearly present in segments of the community who are in an obviously subordinate status position to their present or former lords and who defer to them in crucial judicial and political activities. With these groups one finds the descent record going back genealogically to usually the ancestress who became slave or client. It is not uncommon to find descent segments who simply do not know to which clan or lineage

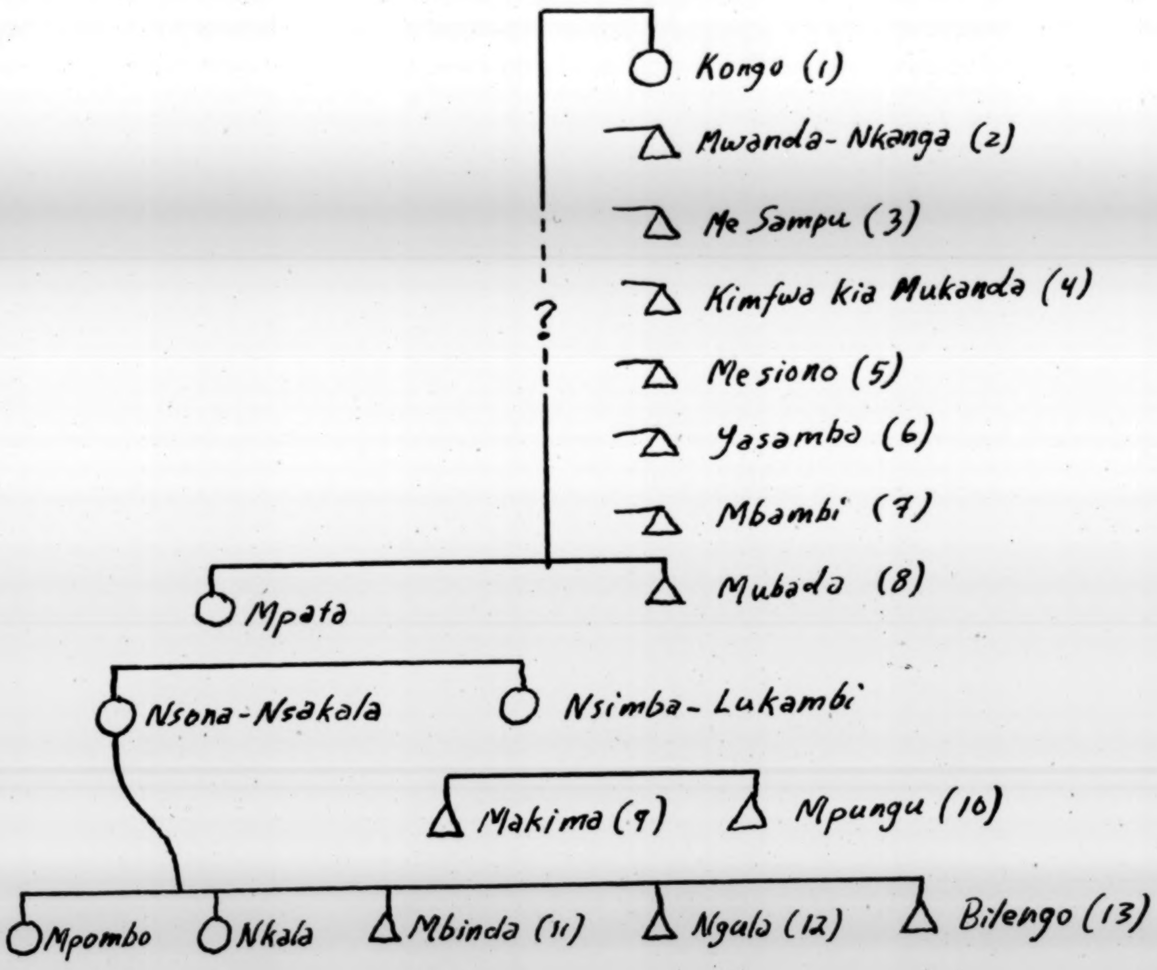
Kongo (1)
Mwanda-Nkanga (2)
Me Sampu (3)
Kimfwa kia Mukanda (4)
Mesiono (5)
Yasamba (6)
Mbambi (7)
Mubada (8)
?
Mpata
Nsona-Nsakala
Nsimba-Lukambi
Makima (9)
Mpungu (10)
Mpombo
Nkala
Mbinda (11)
Ngala (12)
Bilengo (13)

Fig. 16.— Partial Kimbanga Lineage Genealogy (lineage headmanship succession order indicated by the parenthesized numbers)

they are related beyond their common ancestress. There is thus a close correlation on the one hand between corporate lineage structure and the elaboration of a line of headmen and on the other hand between inferior status (qua the lineage) and the absence of a valid line of headmen.

In the partial Kimbanga genealogy we can see what the logical outcome of two sex-differentiated lines is. Mpata is the apical ancestress of today's living lineage members. But her uterine brother Mubada, we note, is eighth in a list of successive holders of the office of lineage nkazi-ship. Prior to him are ranged seven earlier office holders up to and including the first, who is Kongo, a female. The kinship relations among the first seven on the list is not known today. What we have here, in effect, is two separate genealogies collated to give the present lineage greater genealogical depth, enhancing its political power. The genealogical line culminating in Mpata and her brother Mubada can probably be considered to be authentic though the link between Mpata and Kongo is highly suspect. The upper tiers of the genealogy however, although the names and the order may no doubt correspond to something in reality, reflect the attempt to legitimize the line of nkazi holders by linking them with an original nkazi who was simultaneously forbear of the descent line in that she was female.

The sex-differentiated roles of authority and descent in times past received actual social resolution in the institution of the female chief (Deleval 1912:254) who assumed the prerogatives of nkazi and descent channel; she was permitted to choose her husband, who then lived with her in her lineage residence. It is not impossible that the present Kimbanga genealogy is a record of something like this. But what is interesting and significant for purposes here is that the author of the present-day genealogy prefer to crown their lineage record of descent and authority functions by tracing it back to what for all purposes is an ideal resolution of the problem of authority and descent role differentiation. MacGaffey reports a similar genealogy from Mbanza Manteke among the Bandibu (personal communications, 1966). Ideologically speaking, such a resolution is analagous to that in the Mahuungu myth cited above.

This distinction within the genealogical record between line of descent and line of authority clarifies one important defining characteristic of the corporate lineage. While it may appear at first to be defined in terms of the descent line, its corporate character is in fact defined by the perpetuity of authority, in brief, of an inner-differentiated, hierarchized social organization. It follows from this that when a descent-defined line lives in clientage to another fully-incorporated line the former group will for all purposes be a member of the latter corporate group even though rules of exagomy may still hold. This characteristic descent group accretion of Kongo social structure has been noted by many ethnographers; but just what was meant by "becoming a member" of another lineage than one's own under these circumstances has not always been clearly defined in the literature.

We may imagine two extreme variations from the balance between the descent role held by females and the authority role held by males. Quite simply, a sudden dearth of males will threaten the de facto corporate character of the group while an absence of females will suddenly confront the group with extinction. Both the decline of males and the prospect of no females (in native terms mfukusulu, the "blacking out" of a descent line) are equally feared eventualities, although neither, apparently, is insurmountable. In the eventuality of the former situation the descent link remains intact, but in all likelihood any corporate estate such as land and clients will be taken over by other superior lineages. This is the case, for example, with the Bwende of Nseke-Mwini of a decade ago when there were no male adults to defend descent group interests. The Nsundi acquired the habit of speaking about both their own land and that of the Buende today as their own. The alternative prospect of no descent group females, on the other hand, is more problematic. Here the only alternative to outright extinction of the descent line as well as the corporate group, apparently, is to coopt an outside woman--usually of client status--to the role of "sister" in order that one's children become, juridically speaking, one's matrilineal successors. This solution, however, apparently only succeeds if corporate group strength is adequate enough to overpower outside objections. Doutreloux (1963:126) and Laman (1957:41) concur in this. Something on the order of this "sister adoption" to ward off extinction of the line is what the Kimbanga elders did in linking Kongo with Mpata, according to their arch rivals the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini.

Either extreme populational disequilibrium--the decline of women or of men--in one descent group is critical in its unique way for the continuation of either the matrilineal descent line or the matrilineally-defined corporate group structure. From these two extreme eventualities arise the two classic types of witchcraft; one which is said to "choke off" the womb of the women, the other which "saps" the strength of the men and kills its leaders at an early or premature age. In analytical terms, the degree to which a descent group approaches either extreme determines the extent to which it is fully corporate, on the one hand, or to which its own corporate affairs are subsumed in those of another superordinate descent group.

Kongo expressive symbolism provides an appropriate introduction to another dimension of social action, that of alternate position relations found in kinship in grandparent-grandchild, i.e., alternate generation, relations, and by extension, in cross-cousin relations, also conceived as "grandparent-grandchild" terms. Alternation of kinship positioning provides a dynamic dimension to the social structure portrayed in the baroque tomb monuments scattered throughout the Lower Congo (see fig. 18). One theme occasionally received upon inquiry to the significance of these "Celtic" mortuary crosses[1] combines the individual and the "local line" in a manner that can be shown graphically as follows:

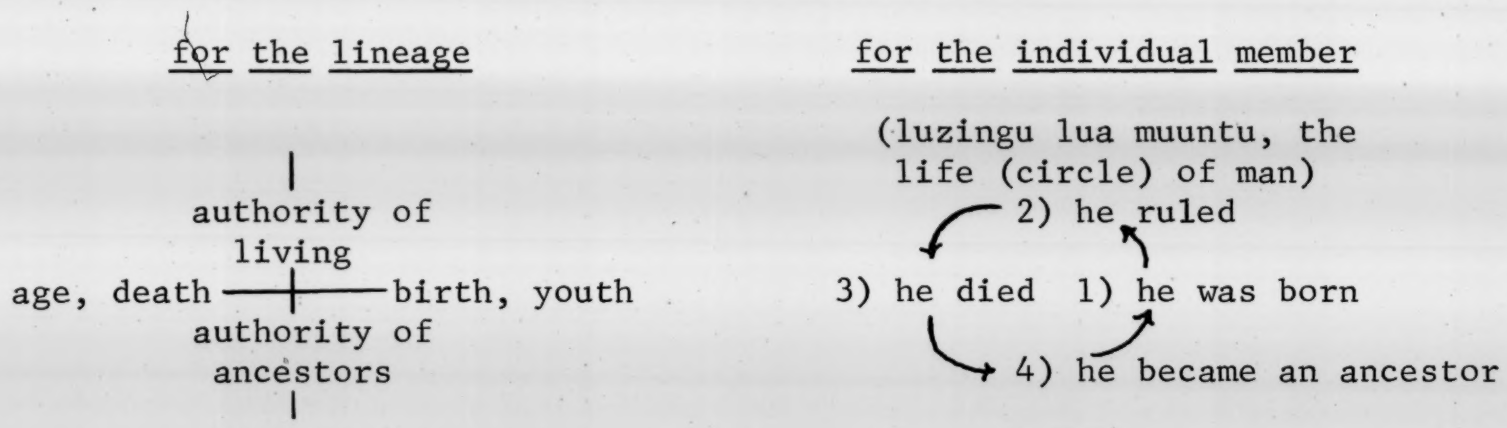
for the lineage
authority of living
age, death
birth, youth
authority of ancestors
for the individual member
(luzingu lua muuntu, the life (circle) of man)
2) he ruled
3) he died
1) he was born
4) he became an ancestor

Fig. 17. The Celtic cross in Manianga symbolism

The "local line" comprises three successive generations of consanguinal matrilineally-related kinsmen. In considering the aspect of

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[1] The present interpretation of the Kongo cross gives only a limited explanation of what is a more comprehensive image of the world, or cosmography.

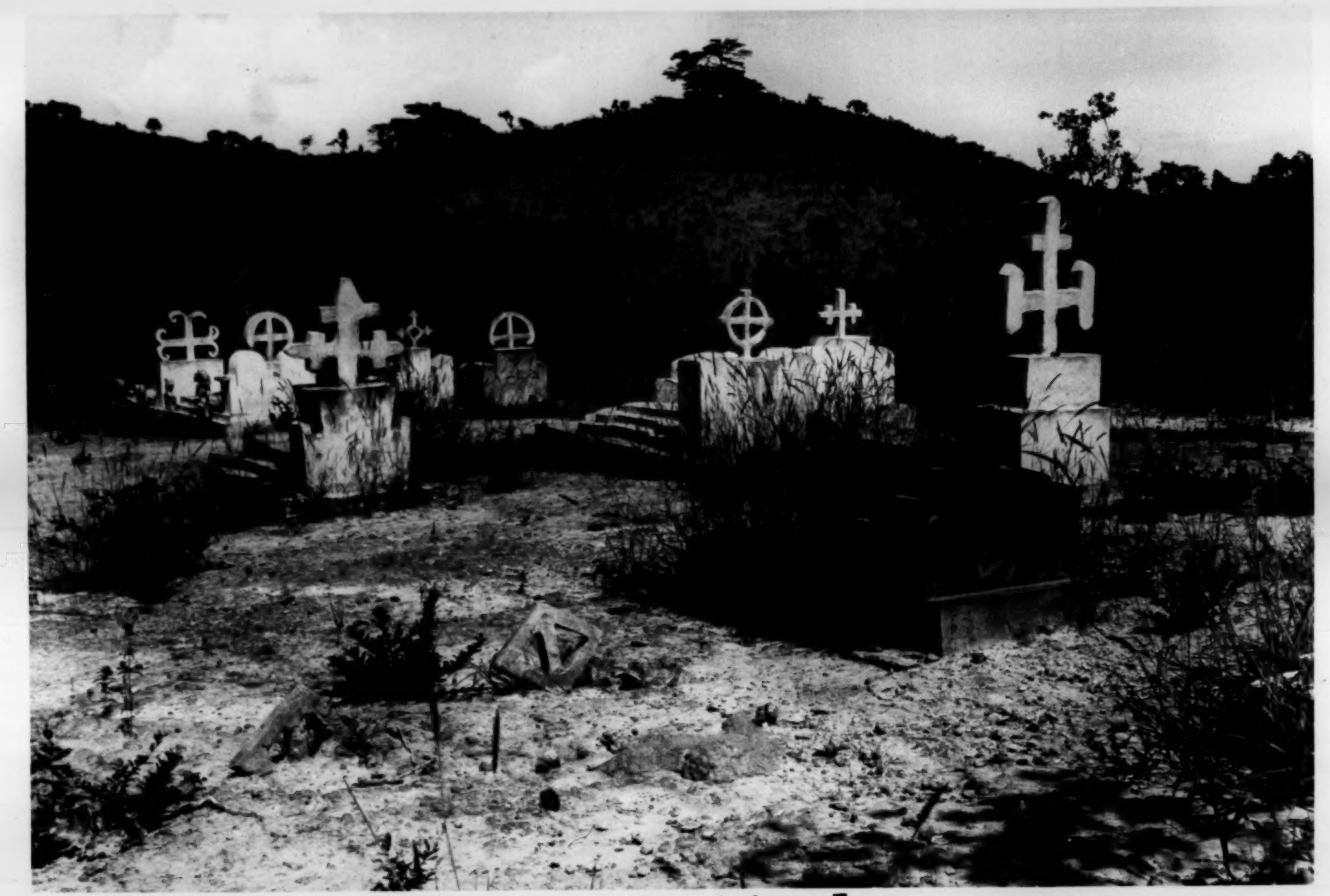

Fig. 18.— Mianianga mortuary symbolism I

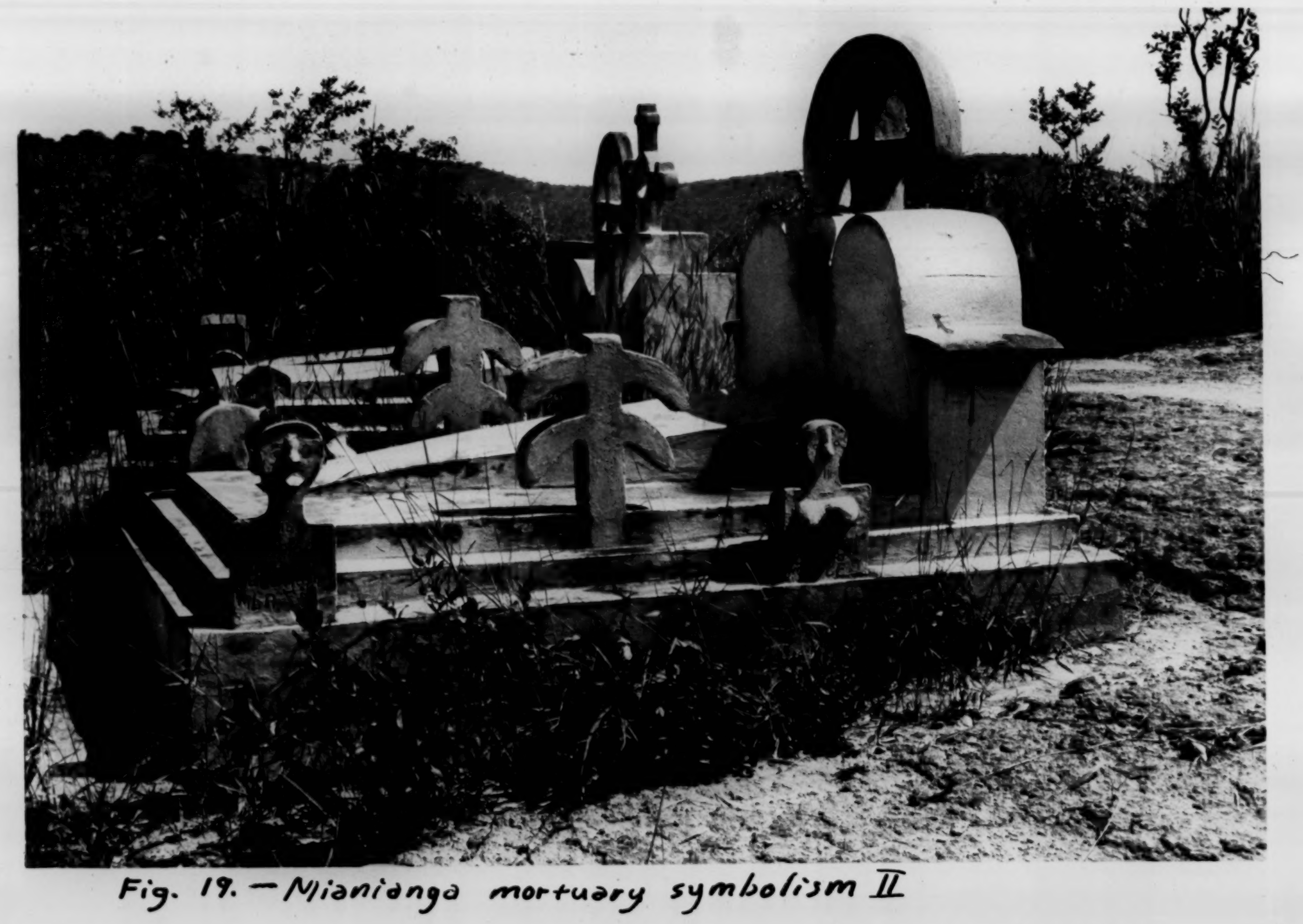

Fig. 19.—Mianianga mortuary symbolism II

alternating generations the elemental model of the dyadic relationship between two roles ceases to be applicable for the reason that such relations, though they may be reciprocal terminologically, are nonetheless finally defined by an intercalary generation. The relative duration of office holding of lineage headmanship in any one generation will determine the probable stress between the authority-holding generation of bankazi and their successors in the generation of baana bankazi, their sisters' sons. The more "brothers" there are in any one generation, i.e., the larger the lineage, the greater the likelihood will be that stress between adjacent generations will be present, and as a consequence, that alternative generations will correspondingly identify more closely. Other factors such as the mortality rate and the span in absolute years between generations as compared with the average life expectancy will also enter in to determine stress between adjacent generations and affiliation between alternative generations.

All this is suggested in the significance given to the term nkaka, "grandparent," derived from the verbal root kaka or kakama, meaning to put oneself between, to be mediator, to prohibit, and in the phrase "nkaka wakaka nsamu mu kanda", the grandparent mediated, or stepped into, a palaver of the lineage. Nkaka, grandparent, is literally the nkaku, the law, barrier, or limit (Fukiau 1966:6), who intervenes between his "children" and his "grandchildren", or, as is usually the case, on behalf of his grandchildren. Nkaka is thus also the point at which the living lineage is closest to, and in relation with, the dead, the ancestors of the lineage. Not only is the elder generation in charge of ritual contact with the ancestors, but is between ntekolo and nkaka, grandchild and grandparent, that the name homonymity described elsewhere occurs most frequently.

But there is more to the nkaka-ntekolo relationship. In addition to the content it gives the vertical aspect of the lineage kinship structure, it also defines the role relationship between cross-cousins. Father's sister's children and mother's brother's children, considered both real and classificatorily, are also termed nkaka and ntekolo respectively. Thus the relationship one has with his own consanguinal grandparents (zinkaka) is replicated in father's lineage where father's sister's children are the "reincarnation" or at least the representations of their own matrilineal grandparents, and are recognized by him as zinkaka (cross-cousins). In Manianga theory father's sister's children (his zinkaka) for this same reason term Ego and his first-degree siblings batekolo, grandchildren, although belonging to the same generation with them.

The shift of alternate generational terminology to describe the cross-cousin relationship is however only a function of kin category classification, for equal generation nkaka and ntekolo will still address one another in the same terms used by uterine and classificatory siblings, i.e., nbuta or nleke for older and younger "brother", nkazi and busi for "brother" and "sister", or mpangi if both are of the same sex. Because of its importance to descent line identity, and to descent group organization, cross-cousin categories thus receive attention as a status factor. Because cross-cousins of complementing sex share sex-linked substance which their common grandparents (matrilineal for the female, patrilateral for the male) have united in their marriage, it is in cross-cousin marriage that the further descent identity of both lines becomes crucial, and relative descent group status an issue.

Before examining further the symbolism attached to cross-cousin marriage, and especially that of the patrilateral type, it is necessary to turn briefly to two other aspects of kinship, namely parallel cousins and real and classificatory "children", baana bambuta. Considered as "children" of the same "fathers" (mase), parallel cousins, in contradistinction, may not marry as do cross-cousins whose common dientification lies in the complementary "brother-sister" roles of their respective parents. Parallel cousins, rather, are identified in the common sex of their respective parents who are either "brothers" or "sisters", considered classificatorily. The full import of parallel cousinship comes out in that individuals of distinctive clanic and lineage affiliation consider themselves linked by common "fatherhood", and are, in turn recognized as "children" (baana bambuta) by any particular "father". In sum, "brothers" who recognize common "father" attachment, will in turn recognize their common "children" as belonging within the same kin category. Since the "father-child" relationship obtains across descent group boundaries, it too must be considered one of the important alternate position kinship relations.

The baana bambuta identified together at any one time do not constitute a corporate group, nor even, perhaps, a corporate category in the Smithian sense. Yet in a particular situation, assembled in terms of common "fatherhood", they constitute a kindred category of great importance in Kongo society. As "children" of their "fathers", they are usually immune to the crossfires of consanguinal witchcraft, and act as the initiators of their "fathers' lineage ceremonies, and as priests of their ancestor cult. They are called on to bury their "fathers" and to mediate between living and dead of their paternal matrilineage. In significant lineage rituals such as the termination of mourning ceremonies (see Chapter VIII) they act as guardians, or colloquially, "policemen," to counteract the dangerous business of mortuary affairs. The importance of the baana bambuta in paternal matrilineage politics, lineage headman succession contests, and so forth, is appreciable.

The baana bambuta may either interpret common "fatherhood" in a limited sense and subvert their uterine father's sense of allegiance to his own matrilineage (as is the case of the Bwende "sons" and Nsundi "father" in Nseke-Mwini), or, they may interpret their role in a broad sense to intervene in their "fathers'" internal rivalries to safe-guard the corporate unity of these latter from which they benefit as "children" and perhaps clients. In terms of their function, actually an aspect of their relative position to their "fathers", they are greatly similar to the class of consanguinal zinkaka who intervene in the affairs of descendent generational lineage members. Native symbolism recognizes this functional similarity of the zinkaka and the baana bambuta and interprets both roles as fulfilling the same principal, that of contextual buffer between opposable sectors of the matrilineage. The salient feature here is that every individual simultaneously participates in two cross-cutting complementarily opposed identity sets, either one of which will give him protection and/or opportunity in the face of the other.

In the light of the above juxtaposition of alternate generational affinity (and adjacent generational disjuncture) on the one hand, and the "child'father" relationship on the other, the exact function of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage now becomes clear. As a preferential marriage form it serves to maximize matrilineage integration in that it organizes exchange and alliance between two descent groups on terms of status equality. More exactly, recurrent patrilateral exchange between two matrilines has the effect of mutual enhancement of corporate descent group identity. In terms of social structure, patrilateral cross-cousin marriage is hypergamous whereas matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is a marriage with simply "available" spouses (MacGaffey, personal communications, 1966). Extended hypothetically to the entire society, patrilateral cross-cousin marriage would result in a series of exogamous descent groups linked dyadically in "balanced reciprocity alliance," to use Sahlins' phrase (1965:147-49). Matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, conversely, would result in a society of "negative reciprocity" in which alliance patterns would tend to follow the hierarchically-ordered model of status inequivalent descent groups isolated in an endogamous polity of a dominant lineage with clients.[1]

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[1] This has been the outcome in Manianga society, although theoretically, of course, matrilateral cross-cousin marriage could result in generalized exchange, and even, if economic and political conditions were favorable for all groups concerned--which they have not been in Kongo history--then in exchange cycles of three or more exogamous descent groups (Levi-Strauss 1949:575). Such marriage cycles have not been recorded in Kongo or Manianga ethnography, although Pechuel-Loesch (1907: 470) notes that among the Loango of 1875-80 persons of the same tschina, i.e., father to son, mother to daughter, identity of name, food taboo, and exogamous unit, there existed brotherhood and sisterhood groups called temo, the name currently attached to the rotating credit associations. These associations existed for the purpose of trade, crafts, and Heiratsangelegenheiten, marriage affairs. By inference from the fact that the tschina (zina) groups was exogamous, the temo arrangement could not have involved circular spouse and goods exchange within the group. But the organizational structure of the temo, coupled with the

These brief comments suffice for the moment to portray the place of marriage in descent group ranking; the problem is taken up in more detail elsewhere in conjunction with alliance, residence, and status. Here I am concerned with describing the manner in which descent ideology and kinship categories are utilized in ritual manipulation of symbols for the purpose of defining corporate group internal and external relations.

Role Paradigms on the Analogy of Kinship

In Kongo culture occasional use is made of title roles or relationships of a specific nature apart from kinship. One may conceive of a continuum in titles or names ranging from kinship terms to occasional individual names. The role paradigms such as that referring to twinship, for example, assigns the name Nsimba to the firstborn twin, Nzuzi to the second; according to generally-held custom the predecessor of twins should be Massamba and the successor Milandu, although these latter two designations are not always used. In much the same fashion another paradign is evoked in connection with the inauguration of a lineage headman. Here the new headman becomes Muswami, from swama, to suffer, endure torture, after the traditional seclusion of the candidate, a practice no longer in effect. Muswami's valet is called Musaki, and the wife of each similarly

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exogamous tschina line, would not exclude some type of patterned recurrent marriage form between three or more tschina groups marrying matrilaterally, or between two groups, marrying patrilaterally, thus on status equivalent terms. Unfortunately the literature does not allow us to say more. In contemporary Manianga society cross-cousin marriage has definitely become an expression of relative status of descent groups, with the matrilateral form appearing persistently where a superior lineage man marries his lineage inferior mother's brother's daughter.

receives a special name.

The title-role paradigm which I shall refer to as Samba, from the verbal notion samba, designates the male who marries his father's sister's daughter. This paradigm, unlike that refering to twinship, is only rarely used, and perhaps is specific to the Upper Manianga. Its symbolic import covers the combination of analytically-distinct social functions of generational alternation, patrilateral father-son affiliation, and cross-cousin marriage. Although I was able to find only one or another aspect of the name paradigm, several informants suggested that the following combinations constituted the complete set of titles for the Samba paradigm.

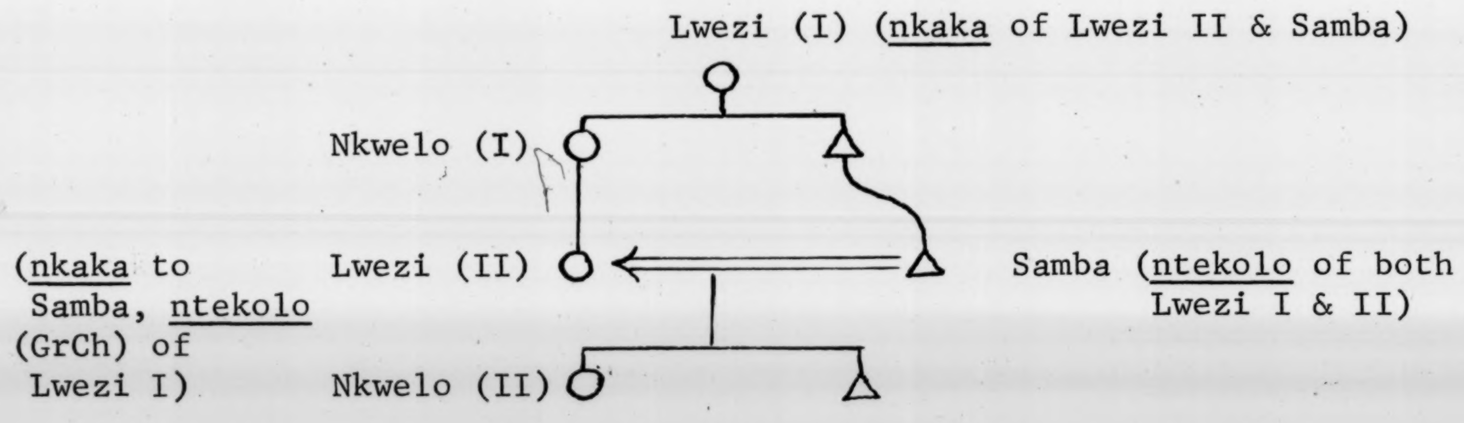

Lwezi (I) (nkaka of Lwezi II & Samba)
Nkwelo (I)
(nkaka to Samba, ntekolo (GrCh) of Lwezi I)
Lwezi (II)
Samba (ntekolo of both Lwezi I & II)
Nkwelo (II)

Fig. 20. --The Samba paradigm.

Lwezi II is matrilineal granddaughter and name inheritor of Lwezi I; Nkwelo II, similarly, inherits the name of her maternal grandmother, to whom she then is ndoyi. In terms of kinship relations, Samba is ntekolo, or "grandson" to both Lwezi II and Lwezi I; Lwezi I is nkaka, or "grandparent" to both Lwezi II and Samba. Although the four section alliance custom implicit in the paradigm only rarely occurs, it various role elements may be analyzed for their individual and combined symbolic connotations.

The Lwezi-Nkwelo generational name alternation may in byegone times have mirrored cosmographic and astral relations (Laman, 1936). One such sequence appears in the present-day Nsundi clan section of Nseke-Mwini, although no one was able to explain it. The verbal notion of samba, however, denotes a wide fan of significations with clear cosmographic-religious, social, and political overtones. In order to comprehend the related meaning of Samba at all levels, we must look first at some of the various usages of the notion.

Samba designates, first of all, the simple act of bending or turning to one side to clear grass in order to facilitate planting in the soil. To samba mazala is to turn down the tufts of grass and to cover them with earth to prepare the annual seedbed mounds, mazala. To samba nguba is to pull down the stems of the peanut plant, covering them with earth so the nodules may bear fruit. To samba nzila is to clear a path through high grass by cutting down or pushing aside the tall brush on either side. The composite image conveyed in these usages is to divert obstructions, or to prepare the way, for seeding or passage. The metaphoric relevance of this image to social usage should be obvious.

But there is more. The physical significations of samba are abstracted to include two distinguishable, although conceivably related, domains, that of sexual contact, fertility, and contract on the one hand, and of prayer, ancestral communication, and spiritual ecstasy on the other. While samba as an elemental verbal notion connotes the opening of a path or the preparation of a seedbed, massamba is the name of a traditional dance in which two sex-differentiated lines of dancers stand face to face in a choreographic routine simulating sexual union. (At the insistence of missions and native church leaders this "dirty bop" has been repressed in most areas.) To haana samba denotes the act of a youth with musical shaker in hand dancing before a girl inviting her to take part in the massamba with him. In the realm of commerce and exchange samba may refer to the identification mark cut with a knife into a purchased object indicating that it has been exchanged. Thus, similarly, to samba mboongo is to count one's wealth in cash and cloth, and formerly, in human beings. To samba muuntu denoted the act of turning a slave or client around to appraise his qualities.

To the base connotations of samba there have been added more abstract significations from erotic relations and commerce and fertility, notions all present in the role expectation of Samba, son of father, and spouse of father's sister's daughter. Samba is destined to become the genitor of his father's sister's daughter's (his classificatory grandmother) children in a marriage that is preferential because it allows the sexual substance of father in the previous generation of father, an aspect of descent ideology pin-pointed in the calling of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage the "returning of the blood". The perpetuation of the matrilineages is thus assured in contract.

The religious overtones of the samba notion also coincide with the role obligations of "father's son." Samba in its derivative-applicative form, sambila, denotes to pray, to supplicate, or to invoke the ancestors or God. To vaana sambu is to exhort, to give advice, to decree, to trace a line of conduct, or to communicate with the dead (who thereby instruct). Nsaamba, a nominative derivation of the verbal form meaning palm wine, is related to the above because it plays a crucial part in the bride exchange ceremony, the ritual bargaining leading up to marriage itself, and is used in libations on the graves of ancestors to evoke their recognition.

Samba, as "father's son" is within the class of father's bana bambuta, the kin category which plays a wide variety of roles in the ceremonial and political life of their "father'" matrilineage. The bana bambuta are the ones who bury their fathers; they inaugurate them to lineage headmanship; they intervene in internal quarrels, and the like. But most importantly, as has already been suggested, they are held to be the priests, so to speak, of their fathers' matrilineage's ancestor cult. Just as they are the social intermediaries between antagonistic elements in their fathers' matrilineage, so in a ritual sense, they mediate between the living and the dead of that same group.

The place of Samba in patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, the identification with alternate generations, and the father-son interlineage link, is thus part of a more general mode of symbolic expression designating the act of broaching the barrier, boundary, or chasm between two distinct but complementarily-opposed domains. The verbal notion samba, at the highest level of abstraction, distinctly conveys the idea of open passage and vital interaction. Derivative forms of samba such as sambila, prayer, sambila kinganga, the ecstatic outbursts of the priest while healing, or sambu, the place of prayer, altar, temple, and masambu, the open paths leading to a clearing, the clearing or crossroad itself, raise the basic notion of passage, communication, fertility, healing, and reconciliation to a sacred level, indicative of its central place in Kongo culture.

CHAPTER VI

THE MATRILINEAGE ESTATE AND EXTRA-LINEAGE PACTS

Introduction

In the preceding chapter I have analyzed the significant symbols, images, and myths expressive of individual identity with descent-defined units. Some aspects in this collection of symbols such as naming, sex-differentiated identity, and the composite element of descent itself, arise out of, or are at least congruent with, the popular metaphysics of native anthropology. What all such factors have in common is that they may on occasion be subject to manipulation for the purpose of imputing meaning to social relations. They constitute the ritual building blocks linking the individual to a more inclusive social unit.

In the present chapter the discussion turns to a related set of symbols, images, and myths, those distinctively more corporate in nature. I am concerned here with symbols of estate including persons (or their status), property (or the right to it), as well as the allocation and control of the same by corporate authority. The concept of estate considered here is essentially that which Gluckman has called the "estate of administration", in which there is a coincidence of rights and duties of individuals and an allocation of properties (1965:78). This type of definition of the estate appears to fit the reality of Manianga society more closely than some others in which a contrast is drawn between the "man to man" and "man to thing" relationship (see for example Bohannen 1963:101-11). Reflecting recent insights of the realm of jurisprudence, Gluckman's formulation of the estate underlies the primacy of the social structure. With regard to land tenure Gluckman remarks, for example that "it arises from, and is maintained by, fulfillment of obligations to other persons and not from the title to the land itself" (1965:79).

Rights to land, tree planting and exploitation, water access, as well as the right of spending and investing corporate capital thus symbolize the reality of the estate of administration, which in this present context is primarily the corporate matrilineage. The total estate may be considered to have social, material, and spatial or geographic dimensions, each of which in its unique manner reflects the political culture. Specific acts of corporately-recognized allocation of resources or land, both within the corporate membership and to persons on the outside, serve as symbolic expressions defining the corporate structure in time. The interlaced structure of the hamlet and its constituent descent groups receives constant redefinition through such symbolic manipulations. The manner in which the hamlet cluster of descent groups as well as each individual descent group constitute more or less separable corporate units should become clear.

The Matrilineage Estate

Two distinct estate models appear as extremes on a continuum in Manianga hamlet affairs. According to the one, which we may call the model of inalienability, corporate matrilineage estate values are based on the rights of "first occupant" to settlement site, forests, grassland, water, and other tangible and intangible resources. All these aspects are seen to be as inalienable as matrilineage membership itself is perpetual. According to the other model, which we may call the model of conveyability, corporate estate resources are considered to be salable; the landed estate itself is subject to fragmentation along the lines of sub-lineages within the corporate lineage and plots of land, access rights to trees and water, and so forth, can be sold to outside parties, or transferred on a permanent basis to clients, sons, and other kinsmen.

The model of inalienable estate is rooted in the belief that the estate is basically the property of the ancestors buried in the often centrally-located lineage cemetery, the makulu, ancient forested settlement site, or bikinda, the sacred forest (see fig. 11) of the lineage. The descendants of the ancestors, traced matrilineally, govern the estate and the various sub-lineages share proportionate sub-divisions of its land just as they are common members of the corporate government of the lineage. Land and other resources are lent to clients, sons, and other individuals upon corporate approval. Access rights to specific resources such as trees, hunting, fishing, and cultivation may be ceded to outsiders, either clients or kinsmen, but only on a specific and temporary basis. The premise of this action is that it augments the prestige of the corporate lineage group. The theory of inalienable estate is supported by even such paradoxical action as the recognition of ritual rights of certain earlier inhabitants such as the Teke clans of North Manianga to the burial grounds of their ancestors, the former inhabitants of the area. In sum, the model of inalienable estate is based on the conceptual and the spatial centrality of the lineage cemetery, and seems to apply only marginally to the fringe areas of the landed estate since boundaries do shift frequently in an attempt to augment corporate prestige or in acquiesence to expansion of another neighboring group.

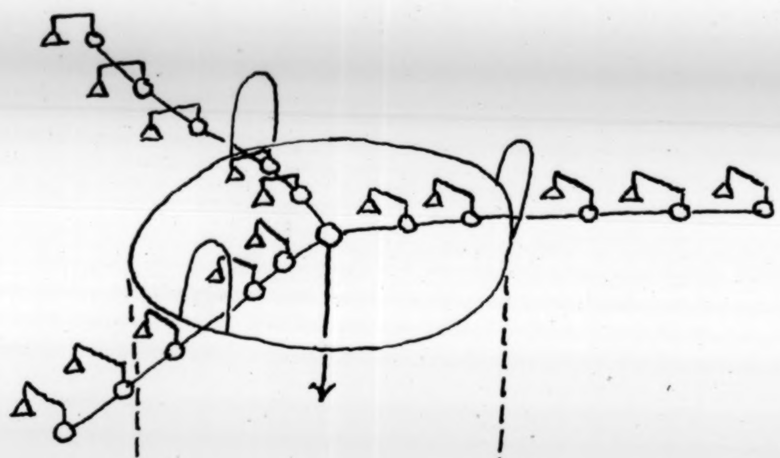
Many writers have affirmed that land is ultimately inalienable in the Lower Congo. Land sales, they assert, began only recently with the coming of the Europeans (see for example Soret 1963:293). These observers have, in my estimation, taken only the "inalienable" model into account, without understanding the full implications of its nature, and without recognizing the deeply-rooted alternative model of estate conveyance by which land and other aspects of the total estate are granted and sold. They have failed to see the connection between segmentation of the matrilineage, which always results in a division of the landed estate, and conveyances or sales of a more permanent nature to outsiders. In brief, they have failed to recognize fully the relationship between the landed estate and that other estate of corporate rights and duties, of which land tenure is actually only an expressive function.

Both models of the estate have existed in Manianga society for many decades, and are in fact built into the social structure. Choice of one or the other model, as a course for action, is rooted in the political nature of corporate group identity, both at the level of the matrilineage and of the larger hamlet corporate cluster consisting of descent groups under the tutelage of a superior lineage. The clientage system and the de facto succession of one lineage over another in hamlet authority have their close counterpart in the way in which landed estate conditions are interpreted. Thus a client or client group may be granted a parcel of land, according to traditional rights of individuals or groups in subordinate status. But not only does the tenure of the long-term client begin to resemble that of "first occupant" in time, evidence shows that the client may even cede his land to his own client in subordinate status to himself and the ultimate superior. This is essentially what occurred in the labyrinth of Nseke-Mwini land tenure history when the Bwende ceded land to the Mazinga, and they in turn apparently further ceded the same land to the Kikwimba. A three-tiered hierarchy of land concession resulted; accepting the Nsundi version, this would have to be extended to a fourth degree. It is this feature of descent group hierarchy within a single wider estate which Gluckman has masterfully grasped in his formulation of the primary estate of administration, the secondary estate of administration, and so on (1965:90). Estate, he argues correctly, is the natural reflection of "status", and indicates the "firmness" of the rights involved. Up to the extension of the estate to secondary, tertiary, and more degrees from the original and/or dominant group we must speak of the model of inalienable estate. Here Gluckman has applied the metaphor of a series of superior and subordinate groups nesting within each other like children's hollow blocks (1965:88). But as soon as a subordinate group effectively usurps the hamlet dominance by selling tracts of land to outsiders, or who as a client group freed from obligation to its superior procedes to sell its clientage estate to an outsider instead of returning it to its former overlords, as the Kikwimba seem to have done, the model of conveyable estate applies. In this situation a distinction is made by native Manianga judges between apparently legitimate "sale" and usurped property. But the ostensible legitimacy of such a transaction depends on the status of the putative original owner. Often the legitimacy or illegitimacy of such a transaction depends on whether the alleged original prosessor, if he asserts himself, defines the parcel of land as being close in a geographical or conceptual sense to the center of his corporate estate. The genealogically-linked ideology of land tenure and sale is invoked and interpreted according to the value content each contestant sees in it with regard to land.

The Sacred Forest and the "Doors" of a Lineage "House"

The two alternative models of estate affairs in Manianga society refer to the distinction between the unified corporate image of the matrilineage on the one hand, and the dynamics of hamlet politics among several descent groups on the other. Within the corporate matrilineage, however, there is equally a dichotomy between complete corporate unity and the condition which results ultimately in segmentation of the corporate group. In a sense the intralineage and the interlineage process is similar in that subunits of the same parent estate compete. But in the interlineage process described above in terms of the two alternative models of estate the one group effectively replaces the other as superior; whether the model of inalienable or that of conveyable estate is invoked to account for corporate action depends on the relative rank position of the group. In the intralineage process of scission there is also evidence of a competitive situation, but here the estate is legitimately divided, often in a last corporate action prior to segmentation. In reality, the process of segmentation is gradual, involving steps of fission that begin long before effective division of the settlement and culminating long after separate residence.

The prevailing image of the lineage corporate group embodies the



Ancestral Makulu,
Primordial Settlement,
Cemetery

Fig. 21.— The Sacred Space of the Maniangа Lineage Estate, the "House" and its "Doors"; the writer's three-dimensional interpretation of the two-dimensional Bikinda in figure 22.

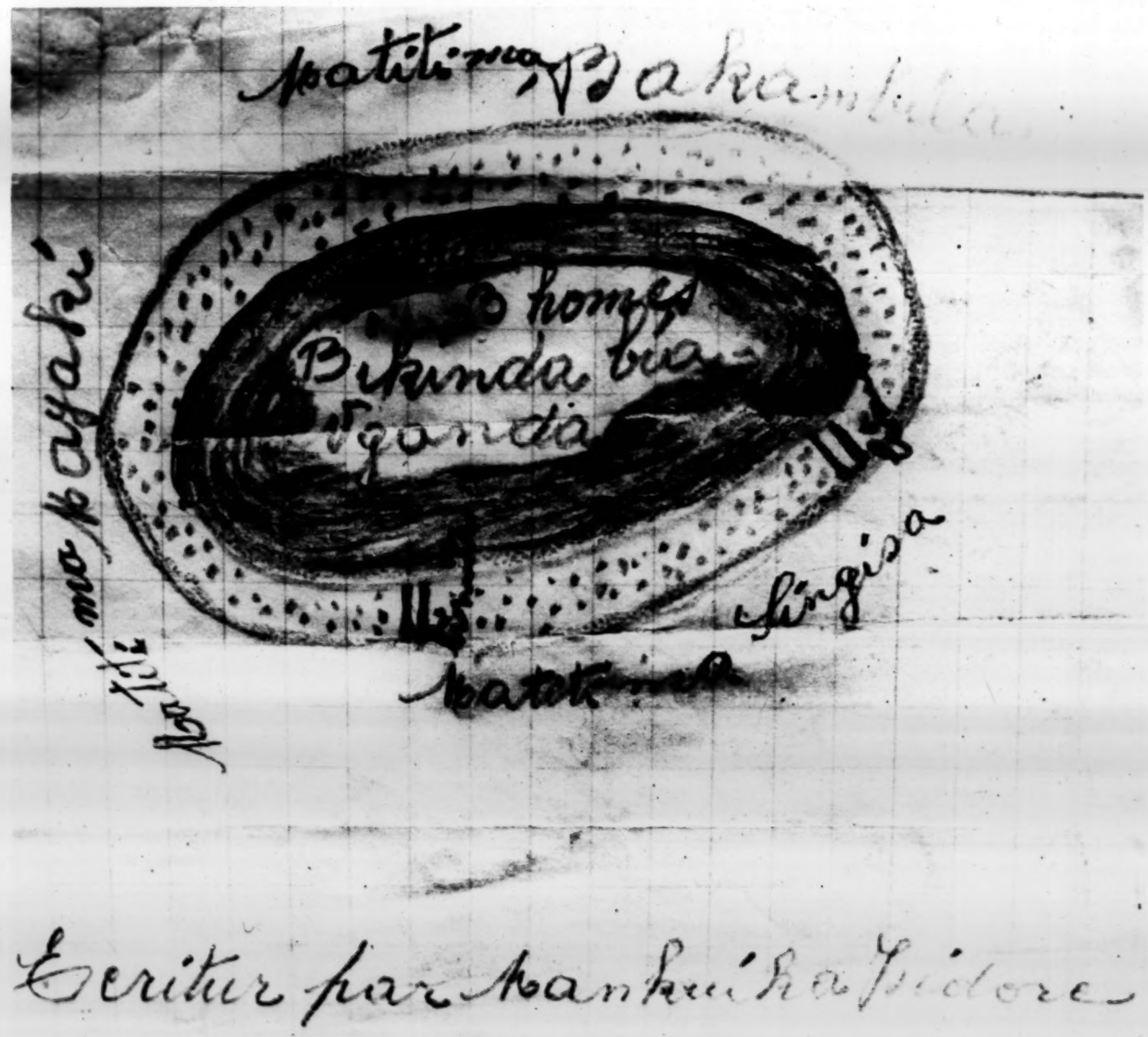

Matiti ma Bakambila
Matiti ma Kayaki
homes
Bikinda bia Nganda
Matiti ma
Singisa
Ecriture par Mankuika Isidore

Fig. 22.— Kivunda judge's drawing of Bikinda forest with grassland of three lineage "doors" surrounding (*Procès-verbaux du tribunal* (Kivunda), 1957).

Fig. 22

structural dynamics of this process inherent in the descent-defined make-up of the matrilineage. The common figure of speech used by the Maniangans to conceptualize the lineage is that of the nzo, house, with its several mielo a nzo, doors. The "house" and "door" image describes, and runs parallel to, the ideas of dikanda, the corporate matrilineage, the vumu, lineage segment (literally, issuance from one womb), and tuuku, origin group, and the like. These latter denote the more generic realities of matrilineal descent, while the image of a house with its several doors conveys the dynamic alternatives of sacralized lineage unity and intralineage divisiveness between sub-lineages, depending on which notion is intended. The image of the house with its doors may sometimes find its referent in the settlement of the lineage, but it never applies to specific houses in wattle and daub or cement block and brick. It is a socio-spatial concept whose most precise referent is the abstract oligarchic circular arrangement of elders of the various lines with their subordinates arranged hierarchically behind them facing the center of the assembly. The social model of lineage organization is in turn a picture of the lineage landed estate surrounding the ancestral forest cemetery (see fig. 21). The imaginary line marking the assembly circle and the boundaries of the cemetery connotes those who have "gone on before", buried in the sacred forest, the bikinda (see fig. 22).[1] Those who

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[1] Doutreloux's studies on the Mayombe to the west link the usual Manianga appelation for the sacred forest, Bikinda, with an important cult to the Kinda earth spirits, patrons of corresponding social units in the human world, assuring them prosperity and health. The nganga mbangu, or Kinda specialist is cult priest for certain invocation ceremonies although the lineage headman has a close cultic relationship with them as well. The Kinda is one of the nkisi nsi according to Doutreloux. Attached

"stand behind" are, to follow the metaphor of the "ears" and "head", the status inferiors of each lineage segment positioned behind their respective mother's brothers or elders. "Doors" of the "house" thus denote the various descent segments of common lineage stock.

Each land-owning matrilineage normatively has a somewhat similar spatio-centric universe relating the living to the deceased; there are distinct laws or prohibitions, minsiiku, unique to each group which ritually bind them to "those who have gone on before". Ancestral authority, veracity, and validity are embodied in the verbal concept of zika, denoting to close, to bury, or to dig something under. In its nominative form zika becomes ziku, altar or hearth. It thus contains the idea of communication with ancestors to keep in touch with truth, clarity, and authoritative guidance. To "zika bakulu" is to commemorate the burial of ancestors (Polis:1939). Zikisa denotes the applicative form of the same verb, or, to bury something; however it carries the added abstract connotation of seeking verification, of intensive control of something in order to make a demonstration of truth (see also Laman:1936). In its passive form zika becomes zikwa, to be buried, also to be made an altar or hearth. The impression is given that the direction of truth is downward; truth is buried. "Ngwiidi nziku", or "ziku ziku" means "I understand for certain, in an absolute or sure manner" and "sa dyaambu ziku" to say a thing with firmness and certitude (Polis:1939). All ritual activity at the time of

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to this, apparently, is the practice of an individual's buying regency powers from his mase (fathers) who are in contact with their Kinda. The Wene sacrament is given as an illustration of this. (Doutreloux 1961: 48-55; 1963:144). Most of these usages, so far as I can determine, have in the Manianga been assimilated to lineage ancestors.

burial to separate the sacred forest from the actual settlement suggests that a purposeful distance is made in native theory between the two, and that the nzo, or "house" as spatial model of the lineage, is in fact to be found concretely portrayed most explicitly in land holding.[1]

What distinguishes the notion of "house" and its "doors" from other lineage or descent group concepts such as dikanda or vumu is that it implicitly admits of division and segmentation within unity whereas the latter, based on common descent, emphasize common origin and inflexible unity. The "house" and "doors" notion is not one usually brought up in public discussion in front of other members of the lineage. However it is the current figure of speech in the Upper Manianga in discussing ancient and not so ancient lineage segmentation with others than their own lineage members, usually when in private. If the concept is brought up by chance in public discussion--as for example by the anthropologist--it is deftly redefined.

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[1] The mystique of the ideal city is an ancient and modern Kongo notion of related significance. Holy cities of the Lower Congo such as Nkamba of the Kimbanguist Church (E.J.C.S.K.), Nzieta of the Manianga Prophet Church (D.M.N.A.), and many other similar establishments, are conceived of as being spatially coterminous with the sacred model, whereas in most lineages the sacred forest is merely an actual or fictive former village site several stages removed from the present settlement. Modern political movements, just as their religious counterparts, have a well-thought-out ideal of the capital city, mbanza. For ABAKO, the Provincial party, Songololo is the town which has been chosen for this celebrious future of being Mbanza Kongo. Although provincial government offices are currently located in Matadi, and may in fact never move from there, several million francs have been allocated to the planning alone of the ideal city. Thus far, only a quarter-mile-wide boulevard and a rond-point graces the small houses surrounding. For the Manianga Council (C.S.M.), the entire Luozi territory and the city of Luozi play the same function. Luozi is to receive, according to the blueprints, a large boulevard and all modern facilities, with emphasis on the modern. Even villages are thought to be deserving of some of this type of planning. One ABAKO district president submitted an elaborate bill to the Provincial Assembly whereby all villages were to be moved to new sites and modernized. This, it was thought, would facilitate modern government and the well-being of the population.

> I was introduced to the notions of nzo and mielo a nzo by a member of the Nsundi clan section of the Nseke-Mwini hamlet. Shortly afterwards I went to test my discovery on the Kimbanga clan section, rivals in land affairs with the Nsundi, living in the other hamlet of the village. My Nsundi informant had told me that the Kimbanga house has two doors.
>
> Off-handedly I asked one of the Kimbanga men about the "doors" in their lineage "house." Rather insulted, he retorted that of course there is only one door. However if I wanted to learn about "doors" I should consult the Nsundi across the ravine whose history is replete with divisions.

In the public eye the Manianga lineage member would like to give the appearance--just as he would like to impress upon his fellow lineage members--that the lineage is a solidary group, and concomittantly, that the lineage estate is an unbroken tract of land shared equally among "brothers". The image of the circle, the lukongolo, present in the notion of the nzo, is this assembly of equals of common descent origin. The more serious crises arising within the lineage calls for a reaffirmation of this circular form; serious affairs are accordingly called minsamu mia lukongolo, palavers for the circle. Disputants within the lineage are here on an equal basis; if the problem cannot be resolved within the circle, an outsider is brought in to arbitrate. Or, two speakers, mpovi, are brought to represent each side. They alone debate the issue. Fellow lineage members at serious odds are not permitted to vent their differences in public. If even then the affair cannot be resolved it sometimes is taken to the communal court for adjudication. If it is of a sufficiently serious nature, it results in permanent fission of the lineage along the lines of the principal "doors" or mavumu, although total separation is often not achieved for many generations after residence and corporate ties have been broken.

Corporate Offices and Transformations in Lineage Structure

Before considering the full implications of the political character of the "house" and "doors" model of matrilineage structure it is necessary to understand the nature of conventional lineage organization and the transformations that may occur to this group through time. The best insight to lineage organization and process lies in the pattern of succession to the office of nkazi, or lineage headmanship in the course of natural growth of the group of descendants of common ancestresses. Successions occur within a prescribed range of variability, but are closely related also to the political relations between individuals and sub-lineages within the total corporate community. Eventual segmentation is not necessarily inevitable, in the sense that Fortes has argued, but is always a function of the intervening variable, the political rapport of the genealogically-defined sub-lines.

One of the important variables in lineage corporate structure and in the succession pattern to nkazi-ship is the relative size of the various descent-defined sub-groups. In a lineage such as the present-day Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini where the span of generations from a common ancestress is small the real lineage organization will conform closely to the image of solidarity set forth in the "house" with only one "door". Still, absolute size is not necessarily a guideline of corporate solidarity, and even a small lineage may be riven with internal conflict. In a larger lineage such as the Kimbanga of Kisiasia, which we shall examine in considerable detail here, the tendency of rivalry between the various "doors" may be countered by electing a powerful individual to the nkazi seat of authority or through distributing the component aspects of the nkazi role, and other positions of authority such as chief of the hut.

The office of lineage nkazi is defined both by position and responsibility. Nkazi holders are usually identified in name with the corporate lineage, and in instances the lineage is actually named after the current office holder. The nkazi is the normative _mfuumu a ntoto_, land chief, and either in person or through delegated responsibility of another individual, either consanguinal kinsman or client, represents the lineage in juridic disputes with other lineages. Even here there may be a close identification of nkazi with his corporate estate so that often the court records list corporate property under the name of the lineage headman.

Intra-lineage affairs receive different attention. The headman or his delegate is chairman of all assemblies where affairs of marriage, disease, annual land distribution and so forth, are considered. The headman may hold other offices contemporaneously with nkazi-ship such as chief of the hut, membership in a religio-magical healing cult in former times, and village headmanship. If there is no one in the group of lineage "brothers" who is very capable, the duties falling on the nkazi may be taken care of by a client; when this occurs nkazi-ship means little more than being titular head of a consanguinal group of matrilineal relatives. In other instances the office of nkazi a dikanda may be shared by two brothers simultaneously. In one instance of this kind the principal nkazi was lame and unable to move about with sufficient facility to fulfill his expected duties. Therefore at the time of his inauguration six months after the death of an older brother who had held the office previously, it was announced that he would be assisted by another lineage member in those affairs requiring travelling.

The office of nkazi is thus composite and flexible. It might even be questioned whether at times, in some lineages, it does not just refer to a serial seniority among brothers rather than to a well-defined office. I prefer to define it as an office, however, because it does involve selective succession and hence manifests a certain pattern aside from strict rank according to age. In any case, nkazi-ship represents authority to a group of matrilineally-related kinsmen, and this authority is legitimated by certain values of descent group solidarity which are in turn founded in the ancestor cult. Evidence of the mystical duties of the lineage headman is supplied by a reputed pastor of the North Manianga who holds that an orthodox Christian should not hold this office because it requires ritual communication with the ancestors. It should be added, however, that probably few actual lineage headmen of the Manianga, amongst whom there are a considerable number professing Christianity, would agree that the two roles are incompatible.

The lineage headmanship is also a corporation sole, a series of consecutive officers each related to the other in a variety of kinship degrees indicative of the latitude of the office and the stresses accompanying the choise of successor. In the Kimbanga lineage genealogy (see fig. 23) we have an example of six consecutive generations of office-holding. The upper reaches of this genealogy have already been examined

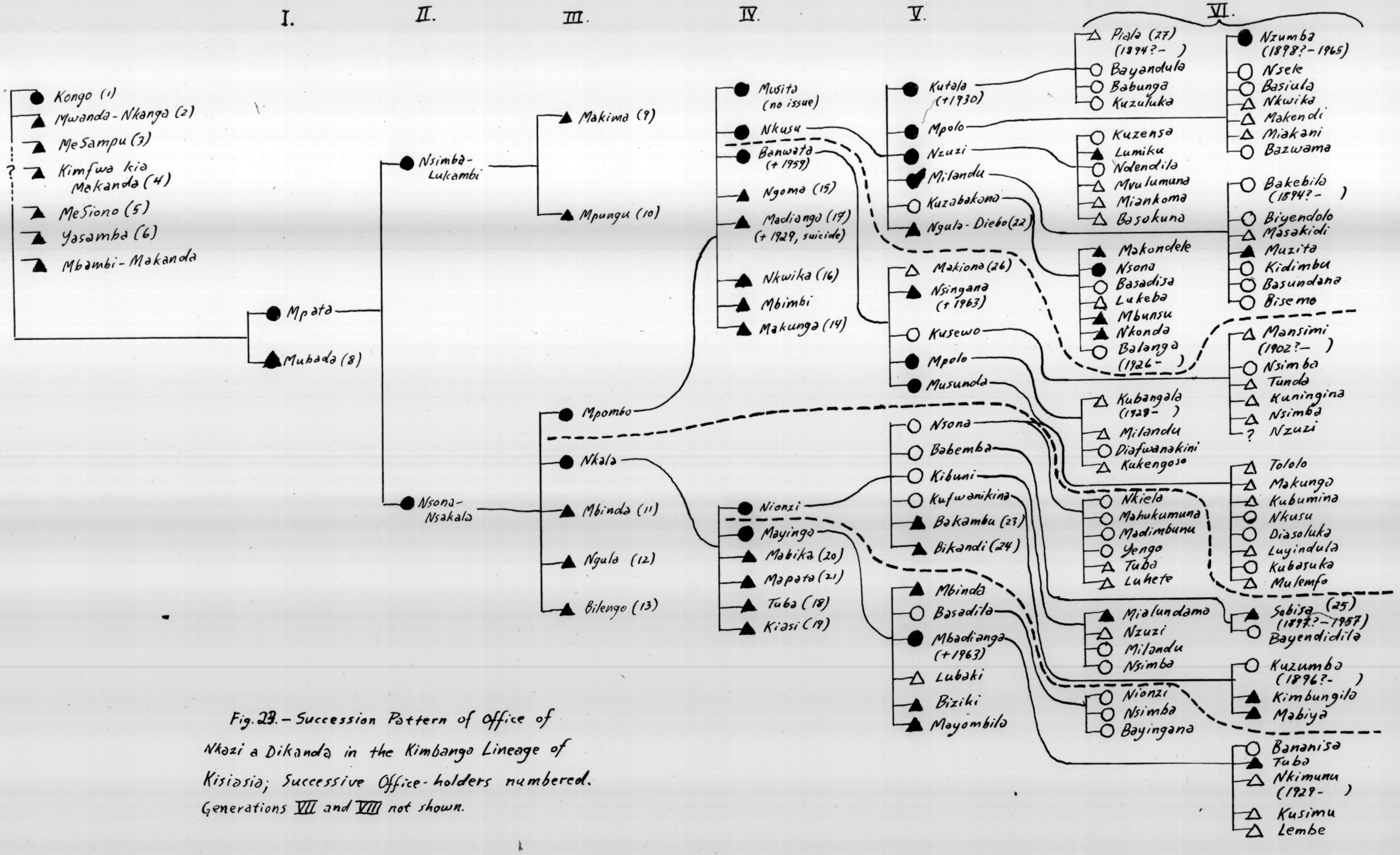
I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
Kongo (1)
Mwanda-Nkanga (2)
MeSampu (3)
?
Kimfwa kia Makanda (4)
MeSiono (5)
Yasamba (6)
Mbambi-Makanda
Mpata
Mubada (8)
Nsimba-Lukambi
Nsona-Nsakala
Makima (9)
Mpungu (10)
Mpombo
Nkala
Mbinda (11)
Ngula (12)
Bilengo (13)
Musita (no issue)
Nkusu
Banwata (+1959)
Ngoma (15)
Madianga (17) (+1929, suicide)
Nkwika (16)
Mbimbi
Makunga (14)
Nionzi
Mayingo
Mabika (20)
Mapata (21)
Tuba (18)
Kiasi (19)
Kutala (+1930)
Mpolo
Nzuzi
Milandu
Kuzabakana
Ngula-Diebo (22)
Makiona (26)
Nsingana (+1963)
Kusewo
Mpolo
Musunda
Nsona
Babemba
Kibuni
Kufwanikina
Bakambu (23)
Bikandi (24)
Mbinda
Basadila
Mbadianga (+1963)
Lubaki
Biziki
Mayambila
Piala (27) (1894?-)
Bayandula
Babunga
Kuzuluka
Kuzensa
Lumiku
Ndendila
Mvulumuna
Miankoma
Basokuna
Makondele
Nsona
Basadisa
Lukeba
Mbunsu
Nkonda
Balanga (1926-)
Kubangala (1928-)
Milandu
Diafwanakini
Kukengoso
Nkiela
Mahukumuna
Madimbunu
Yengo
Tuba
Luhete
Mialundama
Nzuzi
Milandu
Nsimba
Nionzi
Nsimba
Bayingana
Nzumba (1898?-1965)
Nsele
Basiula
Nkwika
Makendi
Miakani
Bazwama
Bakebila (1894?-)
Biyendolo
Masakidi
Muzita
Kidimbu
Basundana
Bisemo
Mansimi (1902?-)
Nsimba
Tunda
Kuningina
Nsimba
?
Nzuzi
Tololo
Makunga
Kubumina
Nkusu
Diasoluka
Luyindula
Kubasuka
Mulemfo
Sobisa (25) (1897?-1957)
Bayendidila
Kuzumba (1896?-)
Kimbungila
Mabiya
Bananisa
Tuba
Nkimunu (1929-)
Kusimu
Lembe

Fig. 23.—Succession Pattern of Office of Nkazi a Dikanda in the Kimbanga Lineage of Kisiasia; Successive Office-holders numbered. Generations VII and VIII not shown.

elsewhere for their characteristics of augmented corporate identity through ritual manipulation. For all practical purposes the first through the seventh positions of the headmanship genealogy must be considered as the fictive kinship charter of the corporate lineage. For purposes of internal identity, however, the person of Mpata, uterine brother of Mubada, eighth holder of office in the remembered genealogy, is the point of actual genealogical focus of today's living lineage. It should be remembered also that generation six is that which today constitutes the elderly set between forty and seventy years of age. Two succeeding generations, numbering in the hundreds of individuals, constitute the younger set of the lineage.

When questioned regarding the correct manner of succession to lineage headmanship, Maniangans frequently state that the eldest male of a given generation should accede to the office upon the death or retirement of the previous holder. From the beginning, in generation I, however, there are anomalies in the Kimbanga genealogy demonstrating exceptions to this rule, if indeed, it may be considered a rule. In generation II there are for example, no males who might have held the office, and effective office-holding passes to the eldest son of the senior sister in generation III.

Beginning with generation III the lineage is already effectively divided into two genealogically-related groups. Here age ranked brothers, Makima and Mpungu, in the senior sub-lineage, hold successive office. Following this, office is held by a series of three age-ranked brothers of the junior sub-lineage. The balance of opposite sub-groups does not continue because the descendants of the eldest sister of generation II include no females. However in generation IV another opposition, of importance today, occurs due to the issuance of sisters of generation III both of whom have large families. The third sister was proportedly sterile.

As lineage headmanship passes to generation IV, the group of brothers descending from the elder of two sisters again hold office in successive order, although not according to age-ranking. Following the criterion of age, it is the youngest uterine brother who holds office first, following which the eldest brother succeeds, who is followed by the third and the second respectively. The fourth brother ends up not having held office at all. The reason for the priority of the younger brother and that of the elder brother after him is not all too clear here, particularly since this sort of succession rule appears only in the fourth generation. It is possible that the role of the bana bambuta, the "children", is important in deciding succession order. Given the power and prestige they grant to their "fathers'" lineage, they assert considerable influence in the choice of successor. Credance is lent to the role of the children in the fact that Mbimbi, the fourth brother, who did not hold office at all, had but one son, whereas the others had as many as ten and fifteen from women both of outside high ranking free lineages as well as from their own clientage.

Following the series of uterine "brother upon brother" successions (14, 15, 16, 17), office passes to classificatory brothers of the opposite sub-lineage where a semblance of the same succession rule as above from younger to elder occurs. Tuba, the third brother of four, begins and is succeeded by his younger uterine brother Kiasi, who is followed by the first and second age ranked brothers respectively. Here again the reasons for such an ordering are not clear, although a correlation can be made between the priority of office and the number of wives and children. The first office holder of this set of brothers had a number of sons of client standing who would have been on hand in deciding succession. The youngest son had only one wife and two daughters, whereas the eldest, who succeeded him, had three wives and numerous sons. The last office holder in this group had two wives but reputedly no children.

In the generation V the lineage is effectively sub-divided into four mavumu although this is not publicly acclaimed by today's Kimbanga men. Accession to lineage headmanship in this generation commences with Ngula-Diebo, the eldest and only son of the senior daughter of the previous generation. From there it passes to Bakambu, eldest son of the senior daughter of the junior major subdivision and thence to his uterine younger brother Bikandi.

At that point (ca. 1920-27) although the junior sub-sub-lineage males of either major sub-lineage have not yet held the office of headman, there is a break in the regular pattern so that Bikandi is followed by his uterine sister's son, Sobisa (25), and not by any of the six possible other candidates of Bikandi's (24) generation. This constitutes a coup within the order of the genealogically-defined corporation sale.

It is not so much the order of succession from mother's brother to sister's sons as the relative moment in the structural history of the lineage that makes this succession an interesting one. It is a normative type of succession in that a sister's son can succeed his mother's brother. But it is an irregular, or at least a marginal succession, in that it bypasses at least six men in the previous generation all but one of which never hold office before their death. The exact reasons for Sobisa's (25) accession to the office of headman are various.

It is said that Sobisa was a man of unusual intelligence and skill. In his youth he was initiated into the Lemba association although he was unable to complete all required states before the Lemba was abandoned in 1921. That he had been chosen, nevertheless, already indicated his status in the community. Also, it was he who was chosen by the colonial government to become duki, village headman, an office created by the foreign government. Normally one of the prominent lineage headmen would become duki. However in the early years of colonial administration these men, as we shall see in more detail elsewhere, were often hesitant to collaborate with the colonial government authorities. Imposition of the office of duki in a sense then created a political vacuum that touched off a flourish of petty local coups as those who complied with the foreign government acquired new power and patronage from the outside. In some instances this meant that an inferior lineage, according to the old system, would effectively replace a superior lineage. In Kisiasia, where the Kimbanga were the uncontested superiors, a similar upset of the established order could occur within a single lineage. Sobisa's favorable position as village headman, patronized by the colonial government, gave him and his "house" added advantage in determining the eventual succession to lineage headman.

It is interesting and significant that following Sobisa's death in 1957 the office of nkazi returned to the junior segment of the senior sub-division of the lineage, to Makiona, classificatory "mother's brother" to Sobisa. But by 1962 Makiona was considered too old and feeble to care for his responsibilities, and passed the office on; all of his immediate generational peers had died, and in effect most of the men of the two junior branches had been bypassed. Makiona was succeeded by Piala, the senior son of the senior segment of the senior major sub-division. Who will follow him, since he has no uterine brothers, is an open question. The descendents of Nkala in generation VI are currently asserting their independent presence by having moved their settlement away from that of the descendants of Mpombo, eldest apical sister.

The pattern of succession to the office of lineage head thusly enumerated entails both a structural evolution as the lineage becomes larger and an emphasis on the constant structural principles which are always present. The two most important types of succession, reflecting on-going relationships between office holder and successor to office, are those of uterine or classificatory brother to uterine or classificatory brother, and those between mother's brother and sister's son. If a lineage is small, even though it be divided between two descent groups (mavumu), there is a tendency to follow the expected rule of succession first from uterine brother to uterine brother, then to the other sublineage's classificatory brothers until nearly every male of one generation has held office, unless of course some of them die before their chance comes along. Following this the office passes to the next generation.

Now the size of the resident lineage at any one time is primarily determined by ecological factors such as the availability of land, the infant mortality rate, and the relative deliterious presence or absence of disease. A lineage such as the Kimbanga, which possesses sufficient land for its males' wives, many of its females, and its client men and their wives, naturally has a greater chance of retaining a large inner-differentiated male population than one such as the Nsundi with less good land. Under contemporary circumstances economic possibilities at home, as has been suggested already elsewhere under the rubric of ecological determinants to village population ratios, will lessen the likelihood of exit to the urban centers of a large portion of males. There thus appears to be a trend to maintain the contemporary Manianga resident lineage at somewhat of a status quo level. In a few cases known to me, lineages have faced the consequent problem of not having anyone of eligible or competent status in the village to take over the office of headman, and have actually delegated factory workers and clerks to return to the village to keep "home-end" affairs, including the juridical and ritual duties, intact. It has not been common for all members of a lineage to migrate to the towns; the roots of identity of the lineage are found in the land, and thus far few have been willing to sever these completely. But emigration to the towns for work has had the effect of lessening the former structural determinacy of a growing lineage, and the seeming inevitability of segmentation.

Nevertheless, contemporary conditions still permit large lineages, of which the Kimbanga are a good case in point. Here the mechanisms and sentiments called on to avoid divisiveness between the several branches are in evidence. To minimize the inherent tendency of a set of uterine brothers to dominate corporate lineage affairs by successive holding of nkazi-ship one or more of several courses of action may be taken. Conscious attention may be given to choosing a dynamic and competent individual who through his persuasiveness, generosity, and largess will act as conciliator rather than divisive segment leader. The choice of Sobisa is an example of this, even though Sobisa was also the "government's choice".

In spite of the fact that equilibrium between opposing senior generation segments was a concommittant of Sobisa's election, later on when he became older the impatience of the senior segment--the descendants of Mpombo--became evident. In 1954, for example, Piala brought Sobisa before the communal court on charges of wishing to divide the lineage land by having secretly delegated land to his own sisters, land which according to Piala was to be allocated and even worked in common. In other words a tacit separation between the two segments which already existed at the level of settlement units in Kisiasia, now threatened to be extended to the landed estate of the lineage. The court was ready to divide the land parcel, an act that would have validated incipient segmentation of the two principal Kimbanga "doors." In the interest of lineage solidarity, however, Piala, the plaintiff, backed down from his charges and declined to allow the judges to draw boundaries separating the parcel (Proces-verbaux du tribunal (Kivunda), 1954). This case demonstrated the estrangment between the two "doors" over the fact that in the estimation of Piala's group, the senior segment, the opposite junior segment had become overbearing in corporate affairs. The communal court records indicate that similar intra-lineage competition is common in many large lineages. It is doubtful that the actual presence of the court minimizes such tension. Rather, the court has merely become the channel of expression of competition that has historically been handled in the village, within the lineage lukongolo assembly.

The particular issue of competition evident in the court case of

Sobias vs. Piala was resolved in Sobisa's death in 1957 when Makiona of the junior division of the senior segment acceded to the office of lineage headman. This indicates another mechanism available to the corporate lineage for resolving internal competition. The alternation of office between major genealogically-defined sub-sections of the lineage in effect constitutes a type of balanced reciprocity within the administrative estate. Although native theory at a superficial level somewhat idealizes the position of the eldest male of the eldest segment, the ideal typical succession pattern would be something as follows.

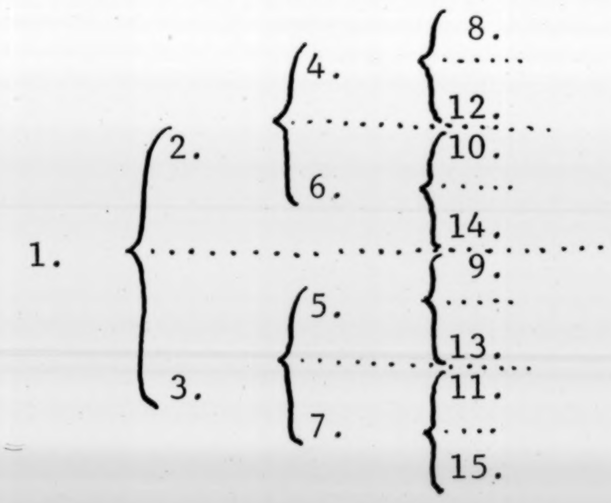

Fig. 24.--Ideal typical succession pattern to office of lineage nkazi-ship

The idea of nkazi-ship is thus weighted toward the principle of seniority, and office tends to bypass junior-junior elements of the community, both in terms of genealogy and in terms of age.

The great hesitation of Kimbanga lineage males to discuss the issue of segmentation with me may be interpreted to mean that it was a growing reality for their group. They were however most willing to discuss the method by which authority was diffused among various segments. This brings us to another mechanism whereby the lineage may ward off divisive tendencies within its ranks, namely the segmentalization of the office of nkazi into the various component roles it comprises.[1] What results then is a type of division of labor of functionally-differentiated duties among the various segments. In small lineages this is not necessary, nor hardly even desirable, since all uterine and classificatory "brothers" of one generation have the opportunity at some time of participating in the allocation of real authority.

This condition of the small lineage is characterized by the contemporary Nsundi lineage of Nseke-Mwini where one man, Nsila, although not a particularly adept or dynamic figure, is at once chief of land and defender of lineage cases before the court; mfumu a mbongi, chief of the men's hut, as well as duki, village headman. The murmurings behind his back on the part of his lineage members and the alleged witchcraft activities of his vumu towards the others are not serious enough to jeopardize the lineage at large. A proper competitive counter-role is in this lineage held by only one man who is mother's sister's son to Nsila, but it is between these two men, noteworthy enough, that witchcraft accusations and tensions exist.

Among the Kimbanga, on the other hand, there is a three-fold segmental division of roles and duties usually held by the lineage headman. Piala of the eldest descent section of the lineage is currently titular nkazi of the lineage and defender of lineage interests before the court against other lineages. Makiona, previous lineage head, today somewhat enfeebled by advanced age, is in charge of "spiritual" affairs of the lineage. As its senior male member, it is thought that he can best represent the living before the lineage ancestors, although on one occasion at which time the Kimbanga won a crucial land dispute over the Bwende of Nseke-Mwini, Makiona delegated one of his sisters to consult the cemetery of Sala and Bikinda before and after the hearing, a move which brought cries of indignation from the Nsundi and Bwende of the other hamlet. A third functionally-distinct duty within the Kimbanga lineage is presently fulfilled by Nzuzi, a close but classificatory "brother" of the late Sobisa. He is the chief of the hut.

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[1] I refer here to the distinction made by Durkheim (1966) between segmentary and segmental, the former being the counterposition of equal and functionally-equivalent units of society and the latter being a distribution between individuals or units of a social order of functionally diffuse roles and duties.

In spite of these above measures to avoid fragmentation of the Kimbanga lineage, there has recently occurred what may somewhat belaboredly be termed a generational rebellion within a segmentation. In early 1966 the junior male members of the junior vumu, descendants of Nkala (see fig. 23), erected a men's hut in the new settlement of Mayala in mute defiance to both their vumu seniors who still lived in the old hamlet site and to the Kimbanga senior vumu which in the person of Piala held the nkazi-ship. The old hut was located across the main village street from Makiona's house, although Nzuzi, whose house is located at the end of the northeast wing of the settlement, presided over day-to-day lineage affairs. The reaction of the lineage authorities, Piala the titular nkazi, Makiona the nkazi-"emeritus", and Nzuzi the hut chief, to this deterioration of their settlement is indicative of what will ultimately happen to the unity of the lineage. When I left Kisiasia in March of 1966 Piala and Makiona were not planning to join the new settlement;

their lineage segment for the most part still remained atop the hill at the top of the old settlement. Nzuzi, however, was in a quandry over whether he should leave his permanent brick house, at the far end of the village largely apart from other houses, or remain, and incur the distinct inconveniences of living in isolation from the majority of his immediate lineal kinsmen. Although he would not tell me whether or not he would move, when asked where he would build his house should he move to join the new settlement, he was able to indicate the site. The circumstances devolving upon him would probably determine his future course of action.

In order to understand the structural factors involved in the most recent Kimbanga settlement migration, and the larger issues of Manianga lineage transformation, it is useful to consider separately the implications of generational rebellion and segmentation of generational equals of genealogically-differentiated sub-lines.

To be sure, not all generational-differentiated, nor genealogically-differentiated successions convey the aspect of an interruption in nkazi-ship. In the normal succession pattern (see fig. 24) there is a movement from opposite segments to succeeding generations. It is only the variation from this pattern of succession with which I am concerned here.

Considering first of all the succession of office across generational lines, we may examine some of the conditions that give rise to a vertical "seizure" of authority by a junior generation. The relationship between adjacent generation consanguinal kinsmen, as has already been shown, is that of mbuta, elder, to nleeke, junior, and is commonly characterized by curt respect of the latter of the former. The salient feature of this relationship is the deference junior shows senior over the question of inheritance, access to the tangible and intangible estate of the lineage, in the collection and distribution of income from marriages and mortuary ceremonies. In small or disenfranchised client descent groups the antagonism between two lineally-related generations is less noticeable than in large groups such as the Kimbanga in which genealogically-defined juniors may in fact be fully-grown adults, or even approaching senility, before they have an opportunity of sharing in corporate authority. It is in this situation that the dictum of the "head and the ears" is heard most frequently. The juniors well advanced in age accuse their status seniors of capitalizing in affairs and withholding lineage secrets for them. Kimbanga junior members confided to me that although they had followed the normal etiquette of palm wine gifts with their elders they still were unable to obtain the information regarding lineage genealogy, land cases of the past, and the history of pacts with client groups. The elders, by contrast, confidingly complained that the juniors no longer appreciated their wisdom as they had respected their own elders in the past, thus today's younger set didn't deserve to be told the lineage histories.

But these rhetorical problems must be considered as reflections of the real locus of conflict between generations. What in fact is the problem is that the senior generation has filled the settlement with its houses, its trees, and its very atmosphere, so that there is virtually no place for aspiring young men to create their own personal estate, either in the spatially-defined settlement, nor in the contingent social setting.

To use a current metaphor, the elders have "choked" the old settlement with their trees, and in order to assert themselves at all the youths must move to a new "open" settlement. Social structural realities are thus reflected exactly in metaphoric allusions to settlement and horticultural conditions. It is for this reason that the nsafu tree comes to play so important a symbolic role in intergenerational relations. The nsafu, cherished fruit, but more significantly, symbol of manly savoir-faire, political acumen, and esteem, cannot be planted in the shadow of mother's brother's trees. The nsafu is planted individually by a youth often with his mother's guidance. Access to the nsafu is limited to immediate brothers, children, and the bana bambuta--the latter of which may in fact pick their fathers' nsafu without permission. But sister's son may not have access to mother's brother's nsafu until after the latter's death, at which time he inherits it. The full implications of the nsafu usurpation by a mother's brother, cited elsewhere above, become clearer once these access rights are elucidated.

One other dimension of adjacent generation rivalry with considerable importance is the alternate generation relationship of affinity. Often when elderly lineage women return to their home settlement after having grown up and lived their mature lives elsewhere, there is little room or freedom for them alongside the houses of their brothers, or even their nephews. It is noteworthy that in a generational expansion such as is occurring in the Kimbanga lineage, that the new settlement of Mayala is inhabited not only by junior members of the sub-lineage of Nkala, but by the grandmothers of these same individuals. It is in the new settlement of Mayala, also, where we find fragments of the Kikwimba descent group of Mayongila, longtime clients of the Nsundi. Accomplices in land transactions with the Kimbanga, the Kikwimba remaining in Kisiasia have in effect shifted their loyalty to the aspiring generation of the Mayala Kimbanga.

Junior generation males, who like the inhabitants of Mayala, are in the process of asserting their strength, welcome both their nkaka, grandparents, as well as dissatisfied client groups, both of whom are potential political allies. Perhaps "rebellion" is too strong a term for the process described here. Much depends on how the senior generation reacts to assertion and emigration away from the parent settlement by the younger generation. The elders may quietly follow, but in so doing they will have acquiesced to their juniors, for their juniors are now the "founders" and "first occupants" of the new settlement.

Generational rebellion does not ultimately, however, incur a division of the corporate lineage estate, either in its "moveable" and "immoveable" aspects. Whether the elder generation of a descent segment decides to join the new settlement or not, they eventually die out and are replaced in office by their juniors. What has occurred, however, is a transformation in the configuration of authority, reflected most strongly in the pattern of succession to the nkazi-ship. In a general sense corporate unity and identity have been renewed as well as preserved.

The conditions giving rise to lineage segmentation, by contrast, arise from a rather different combination of structural circumstances and are reflected in distinctive migrational, settlement, and estate distribution patterns. The conditions of segmentation are, of course, implicit in the very nature of unilineal descent. The pattern of alternate segment accession within a single generation to the nkazi-ship, as well as the segmental, or functionally-specific, distribution of offices of authority, tacitly recognize the danger of segmentation and seek to compensate for it. Segmentation is actually a gradual process most evident in the separate administration of resources such as land, capital, and protection or patronage, and in the separate settlements of genealogically-distinct units. It is actually difficult to pin-point any single thing as being a fortiori segmentation. Even the ritual duty of an nkazi before the ancestors may be divided on a genealogical basis among persons who meet occasionally in a common assembly.

All these factors pointing to a gradual and piecemeal segmentation of one lineage into two distinct lineages emphasizes the fact that segmentation is not inevitable, but rather contingent on the political and organizational relations among individual persons, relating in terms of kinship, and bound by varying degrees to a common descent ideology. These points are visible in the political history of a lineage which did, however, segment. An informant of the Nsundi sub-section of Nseke-Mwini reconstructed the history of his and related groups of Kimbedi and Buyala-Lengula in the following terms.

> The three mielo nzo of Lengula, Nseke-Mwini, and Kimbedi-Mukula were members of the same nzo, descendants of the same nkaka (ancestress); they were of the same kanda, bangudi na bana, "mothers" and "children", bampangi na bayaya, "siblings" and "senior siblings", bankazi na bibusi, "brothers" and "sisters". To this day they do not intermarry.
>
> Earlier when they were of the same nzo they arrived at Mbota (Kimbedi). They were two mielo nzo. Afterwards they divided into two makanda (lineages) saying that "the one door of the house wouldn't bring out its wine to drink together at the hut, but that they (the door of Lengula) only drank the other doors' wine." But the reason behind this division is that when they were living at Ndinga, and

> burying in the forest of Mbuku, they were three doors. The door of Lengula-Buyala had a witches association through which they killed or 'ate' men. They became excessive in wanting to kill the lineage, and the two remaining doors of Nseke-Mwini and Kimbedi were not content to let this happen; the lineage would have perished. And for this reason they divided.
>
> When they divided, and redivided, each door of the house took that part of land, that side, (of the common estate) where their members had earlier drawn palm wine. Thus the door of the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini settled at Nseke-Ndinga and other parcels alongside; the door of the Nsundi-Lengula settled at Mbuku and alongside; and the door of Nsundi-Kimbedi-Mukula settled at Mbota, Kitombe, and other parcels. Each door of the house must work, and watch over, its own tracts of land.
>
> The two doors (of the former house) have the obligation to salasana (help each other) in affairs of the tribunal, in particular affairs of land, in affairs relating to funeral rites, marriage payments, and in the matanga (rite to honor the collective recently deceased members of the lineage). They share the proceeds from these celebrations. For example if we have given a "sister" in marriage, the wine and the sum paid to the bankazi (mothers' brothers), will be shared by all. This is actually all that is shared currently. Before 1950 the same held true for the (third door of the old house) Nsundi-Lengula, but even this relationship was cut by an old scoundrel of that group. N.V.

The segmentation of one lineage into three, as recounted here, occurred approximately three generations ago, or, in terms of absolute time, late in the nineteenth century. But it is significant that the narrative vascillates with a shifting tone of emphasis from common identity with the other segments to pronouncing them as traitors and defectors to the common cause. It is difficult to determine to what extent this account is an accurate appraisal of the political facts. As I have already suggested elsewhere, the story of the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini, Kimbedi, and Lengula is told with considerably different emphases by outside individuals. The variations need not concern us here, however. What is interesting for present purposes is that this particular narrator, from his own perspective within one of the three segments, although he states that three makanda grew out of one, the story is related with the intent of retaining the corporate identity of his own local lineage, if not of the total Nsundi line. He is, for the benefit of the anthropologist, recalling history as an outsider might, but he is also identifying the other branches who formed the witches' association to subvert the Nsundi community.

The point to remember in this connection is that qua its corporate character, a lineage body of individuals, linked genealogically, never officially and publicly admitted that the corporate group had divided. The official corporate memory, recalled in the public of lineage assemblies, and told by the nkazi or his delegate only in propitious occasions, selectively recalls the past so as to enhance the given corporate body. Corporate lineage "memory" is, to use the metaphor, myopic, with focus fixed on events and individuals which supported corporate integrity. This is the reason why often lineal ancestors beyond the apical female of a lineage cannot be recalled, even though, as between the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini and Kimbedi, the corporate shadow remains from the past on the basis of a few remaining common affairs and mutual responsibilities.

The same myopia which sees earlier events in terms of corporate identity, also provides the logic of explanation for the ostensible traitors. From the subjective position of one in a lineage opposed, the "traitors" are considered to be disenfranchised from their descent connections, hence genealogical links with them through common ancestors are no longer remembered. But the traitors continue to exist as a contemporaneous corporate body, whence the allegation that the origin of their group goes back to an anti-lineage, the kitemo za bandoki, the rotating association of witches.

Myths of Integrative and Disintegrative Dispersion

Thus, despite segmentation, no lineage qua its corporate character accepts the title of traitor. Consequently, one's corporate identity always can be traced back to "the beginning". In addition to the minsiku mia dikanda, the lineage prescriptions and prohibitions, ultimate identity of Manianga and other Kongo area lineages is based upon the myth of "Tuuka Mbanza Kongo dia Ntotila", the "Origin from the Capital City of the King of the Kongo". The appeal to Mbanza Kongo dia Ntotila may not be as strong as the lineage makulu identification, but it is essentially the "same myth"; to invoke Leach's phrase again, both "make explicit the social structure" in the same way.

This myth accounts for what I shall call integrative dispersion, since it seeks to link individual lineages with ultimate authority. It is essentially a conquest myth expounded to validate almost any kind of claim to authority.

The many varieties of this myth collected in all corners of the Kongo-speaking area agree on the basic points. Each of nine or twelve original clans, depending on the version, set out from Mbanza Kongo (San Salvador in Angola) to conquer the various corners of the empire, to subdue the local population or to inhabit open country. Setting out each in its respective direction, the clans all came to a river, crossed, and arrived at the place where their descendants are settled today (see for example Van Wing 1959:44; Laman 1953:17). Although the citation of place names in each local version of the Tuuka Kongo recitation may indicate recent migrations, it is not at all certain that these migration sites refer to the background of the group in question; the legend is invoked for contextual defense of the local corporate lineage, and is patently erroneous as a historical document with some groups. It is used in other contexts as well. One lad swore that all Africans had originated in Mbanza Kongo. The fictive kinship between generic brothers, as derivative theme in the myth, has been used to great effect by ABAKO party politicians to justify their bid for centralized authority.

Locally, in Kisiasia, the Tuuka Kongo dia Ntotila story played the following role in interviews.

> When I began to interrogate members of the Nsundi clan section of Nseke-Mwini on the origins of their group I was told that they came from Kongo dia Ntotila. They gave me the approximate location at which their ancestors crossed the Congo river (Mpioka), but could not "recall" more than a few settlement sites prior to the series of local sites inhabited by their apical ancestors. These they identified in certain forest clusters (makulu).
>
> The same questions posed to individuals of the Kimbanga local section produced a similar reply. These had originated at Kongo dia Ntotila, but had crossed farther north near Stanley Pool (Mpumbu). When I asked them which direction Kongo dia Ntotila lay from their settlement all were agreed that it was to the north. (Mbanza Kongo, or San Salvador, in Angola, actually is directly south).
>
> The origin of the present relationship between the Bwende clan section of Nseke-Mwini and the Nsundi is obscure. In the presence of the Nsundi, when the Bwende and Nsundi are in conference, the official explanation, always issued by a MuSundi, is that since their departure from Kongo dia Ntotila, the two clans are side by side as "brother" clans. "They left together, marched together, crossed the river together, settled together along the way, and are together today."

The second widely-used myth of origin in the Manianga relates the passage of Nzondo, the Homo dimidius or half-man, through the countryside along riverbeds where he left huge fossilized footprints in stone. Nzondo is characterized as having been half again as tall as normal men, but possessing only one eye, one ear, one nostril, one leg, one arm, and so on. This myth accounts for what can be called "disintegrative dispersion" in that it recalls the loss of authority of an original high regent. Of the varying versions of the myth the common theme is disaster and disintegration.

The most often recited version relates how long ago a powerful chief or king lived with his people in a nbanza or makulu called Zimba. This regent subsequently lost his nsengele mbele a lulendo, sword of authority, upon which all the clans and lineages who had lived under him began to fight amongst one another and gradually dispersed into increasingly smaller hamlets where they can be found today. Nzondo passed through the country leaving his tracks at the time when the king lost his sword of authority.

The ancient city of Zimba probably does not refer to Zimbabwe, as one Congolese intellectual thought, but to a generic "lost grand capital of old;" the phrase "makulu mazimbalala nsengele a mbele," literally, "the lost capital city from which our common ancestry stems, is lost." The verbal notion zimba denotes something irretrievably lost, as does the phrase, "babo bata kimwanga ye kwenda nwa maza manzenza," "the languages became dissimilar and all dispersed to drink from various waters" (Fukiau 1966:15-16).

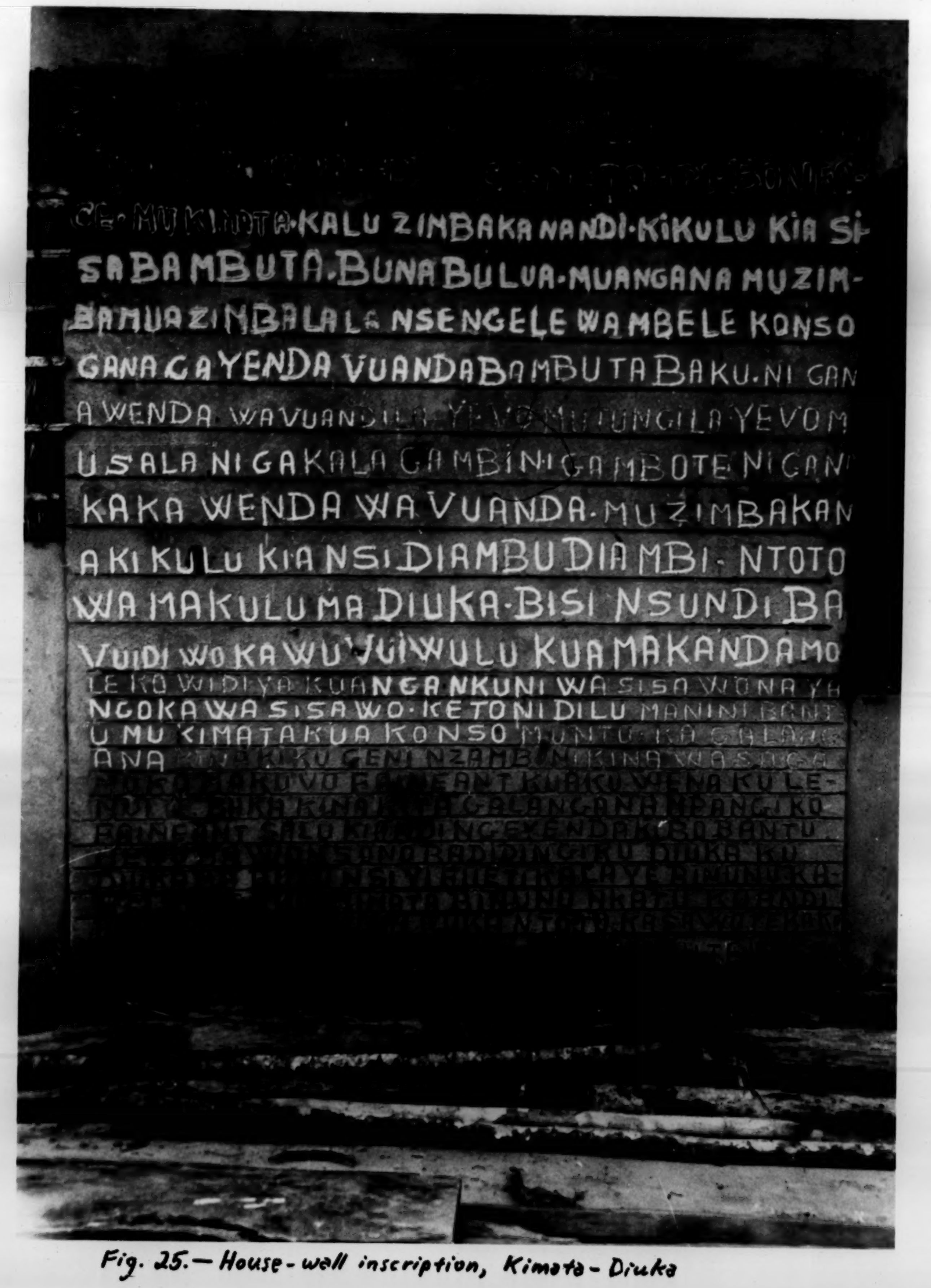
Another variation makes Nzondo himself the regent who lived with his people at Zimba. One day Mzondo's son became ill. As is customary for close relatives at the moment of impending death, Nzondo told his people that he would go for a solitary walk, but he warned them not to mourn for the son lest he die. Nevertheless, they did begin to mourn; the son died as predicted, and when he returned Nzondo became distraught and angry and left forever. It is on this departure that he left the tracks in the riverbeds and ascended into the sky, following which the people dispersed and fought amongst themselves.

Other variations expand the misfortunes that are to have occurred when Nzondo passed and ascended into the sky. For example, prior to his passing by there was a two-day downpour followed by a severe famine during which many people sold their kinsmen into slavery to obtain food. Linked with this is the detail that Nzondo passed right after the big lake of Central Africa beyond the Crystal Mountains of the Lower Congo broke through its banks and formed the Congo river. Still other versions associate Nzondo with Jesus brought by the missionaries.

The legend of Nzondo's passage, similarly to that of common origin from Mbanza Kongo dia Ntotila, is invoked to justify claims to property, kin and other relationships, and in particular, to land. In both myths dispersion of clans and lineages from an original common settlement and political unit are assumed. The difference between the two, basically, is that whereas the former shows conquest to be the reason for dispersion, the latter portrays deterioration of authority and subsequent disaccord among people to be the root of all dispersion.

The legend of Nzondo, just as Tuuka Kongo, is currently employed to explain and to justify political structure.

> In the village of Kimata-Diuka (one of the eight hamlets of Kimata) a certain Dunga-Matampi Boniface of the Nsundi clan section inscribed what he considered to be the "real" local tradition in order to defend the rights of his group with respect to a certain tract of land called Kiuka on a concrete plaque on the front of his house. He laments the fact that there are no elders in his clan section who might defend the "true" tradition. All have died prematurely as a result of witchcraft and envy perpetrated by would-be possessors of his parcel. In sum, the plaque states that "Our ancestors arrived here upon the loss of



[illegible]
CE·MU KIMATA·KALU ZIMBAKA NANDI·KIKULU KIA SI-
SA BAMBUTA. BUNA BULUA·MUANGANA MUZIM-
BA MUA ZIMBALALA NSENGELE WA MBELE KONSO
GANA GA YENDA VUANDA BAMBUTA BAKU. NI GAN
A WENDA WA VUANDILA YEVO MUTUNGILA YEVO M
USALA NI GAKALA GAMBINI GAMBOTE NI GAN
KAKA WENDA WA VUANDA·MUZIMBAKAN
A KIKULU KIA NSI DIAMBU DIAMBI·NTOTO
WA MAKULU MA DIUKA·BISI NSUNDI BA
VUIDI WO KA WU VUIWULU KUA MAKANDA MO
LEKO WIDI YA KUA NGA NKUNI WA SISA WONA YA
NGO KA WA SISA WO·KETO NI DILU MANINI BANT
U MU KIMATA KUA KONSO MUNTU·KA GALANG
ANA [illegible]
[illegible]

Fig. 25.— House-wall inscription, Kimata-Diuka

25

> the sword of authority at Zimba. Some settled and built villages; others cultivated fields. This was good. Others, forgetting the traditions, settled and built and cultivated where they had no right. This was bad. The tract Kiuka was owned by the Nsundi; it was not owned by two lineages, nor was it ever sold. Likewise the makulu of Diuka belonged to the Nsundi. Because there are no elders who can attest to this, I have stated what I know in my heart to be true. You know it too. You are my witnesses" (see fig. 25).

The text of the Kimata plaque thus points out that although dispersion has occurred as a result of loss of authority of a central power, the founder and first occupant of the local makulu has inalienable rights to it and surrounding land, which he, as descendant, is now reaffirming.

In order to understand the full significance of the myths of Nzondo's passing and the loss of the sword of authority, a brief analysis of the symbolic content is helpful. Nzondo's halfness, just as his passing by, may be taken to represent the mystical nature of all authority. Social order, centralized authority, and protection from dispute, famine, and disease, as well as natural catastrophy, all have their roots in the other-natural invisible world. The death of Nzondo's sons in the one version may be taken to represent the rupture of proper succession of temporal authority, and the loss of "children", who in the context of Kongo social structure constitute the main political allies of any authority, particularly that of the matrilineage. Assimilation of Nzondo to Jesus is rather more problematic. It can, on the one hand, refer to the disappearance of authority with the white man's arrival in the land, with his religion and government. Alternatively, it may also be symbolic of the fact that even the new authority is not in the hands of the people.

Both the myth of Tuuka Kongo and that of Nzondo and the lost sword of authority at Zimba follow a common dramatic structure indicative of the generic problem of central authority and dispersion of society.

I. Homogeneous authority; original
royal city or makulu.

II. Time lapse; river crossed; death;
passage, and transition.

III. Heterogeneous local authority;
present settlement, local makulu;
actual social structure;
contemporary epoc.

Fig. 26.--The dramatic structure of Manianga political origin myths

In other words, dispersal is a fact of life; it is the given common base of both myths. But it can alternatively be interpreted as caused by integration or disintegration of authority, by conquest or defest, by association with, or disappearance of, primoridial and eternal authority.

The Estate in Land Conflict Cases

In the local history of land conflicts, recorded judiciously by communal clerks in the past thirty-five years, an excellent insight is given into general concepts of tenure and into particular conflicts, some of which have endured from the earliest point of recorded court history. If one examines the estate maps and court decisions it quickly becomes apparent that the idea of the makulu-centered matrilineage estate covers only a portion of all cultivated land. The Makula ma Kimbenza shown in figure 26, covering a portion of the tracts called Mulati and Lulonga, does not extend out into all surrounding territory

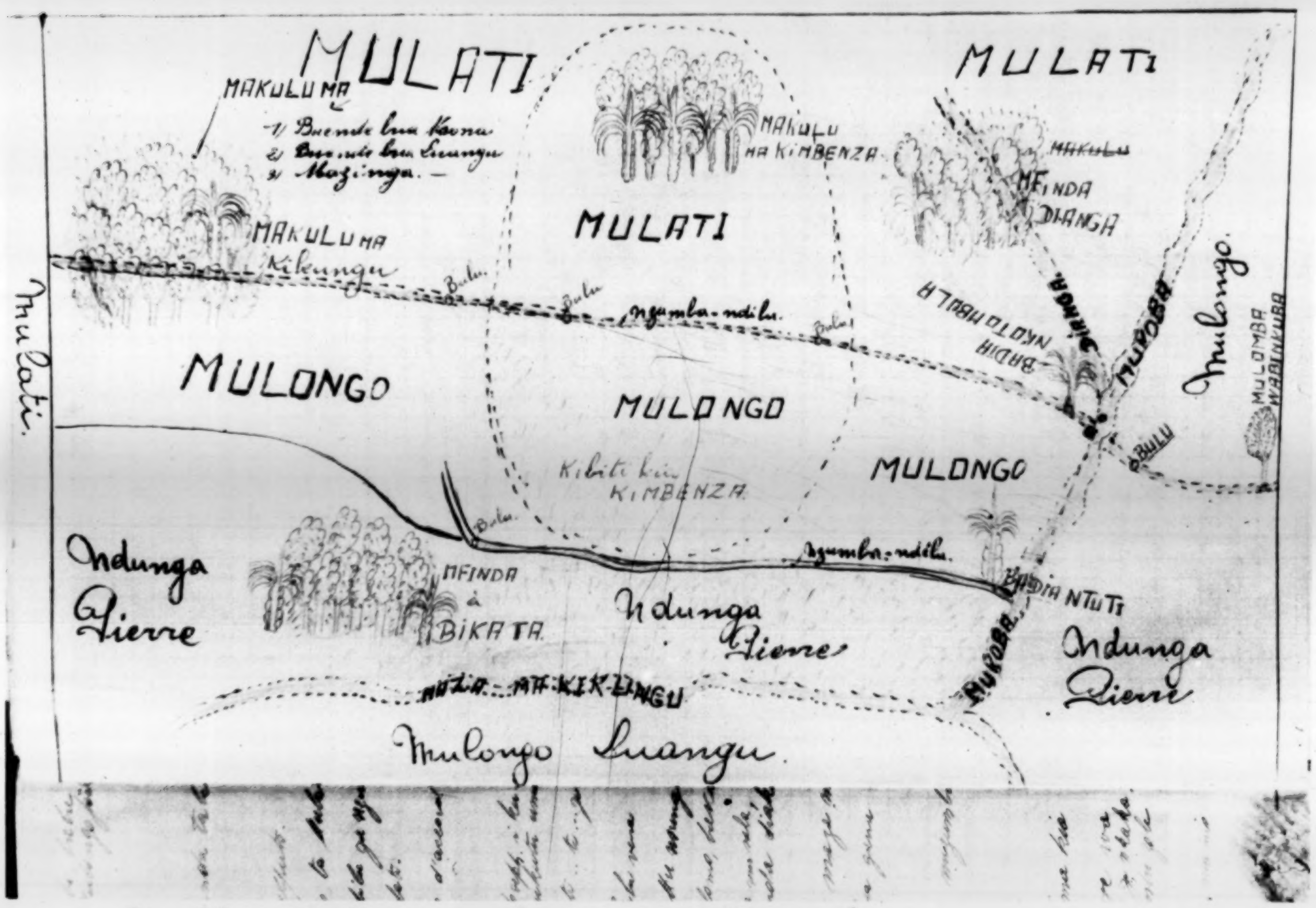

MULATI
MAKULU MA
MAKULU MA Kikungu
MAKULU MA KIMBENZA
MULATI
MULATI
MAKULU MFINDA DIANGA
Mulati
MULONGO
MULONGO
MULONGO
Mulongo
Kibiti kia KIMBENZA
Nzumba-ndila
Ndunga Pierre
MFINDA à BIKATA
Ndunga Pierre
Ndunga Pierre
NZILA AKIKUNGU
Mulongo Luangu
MUKOBA
MULOMBA

Fig. 26.— Judge's land case map, Kivunda

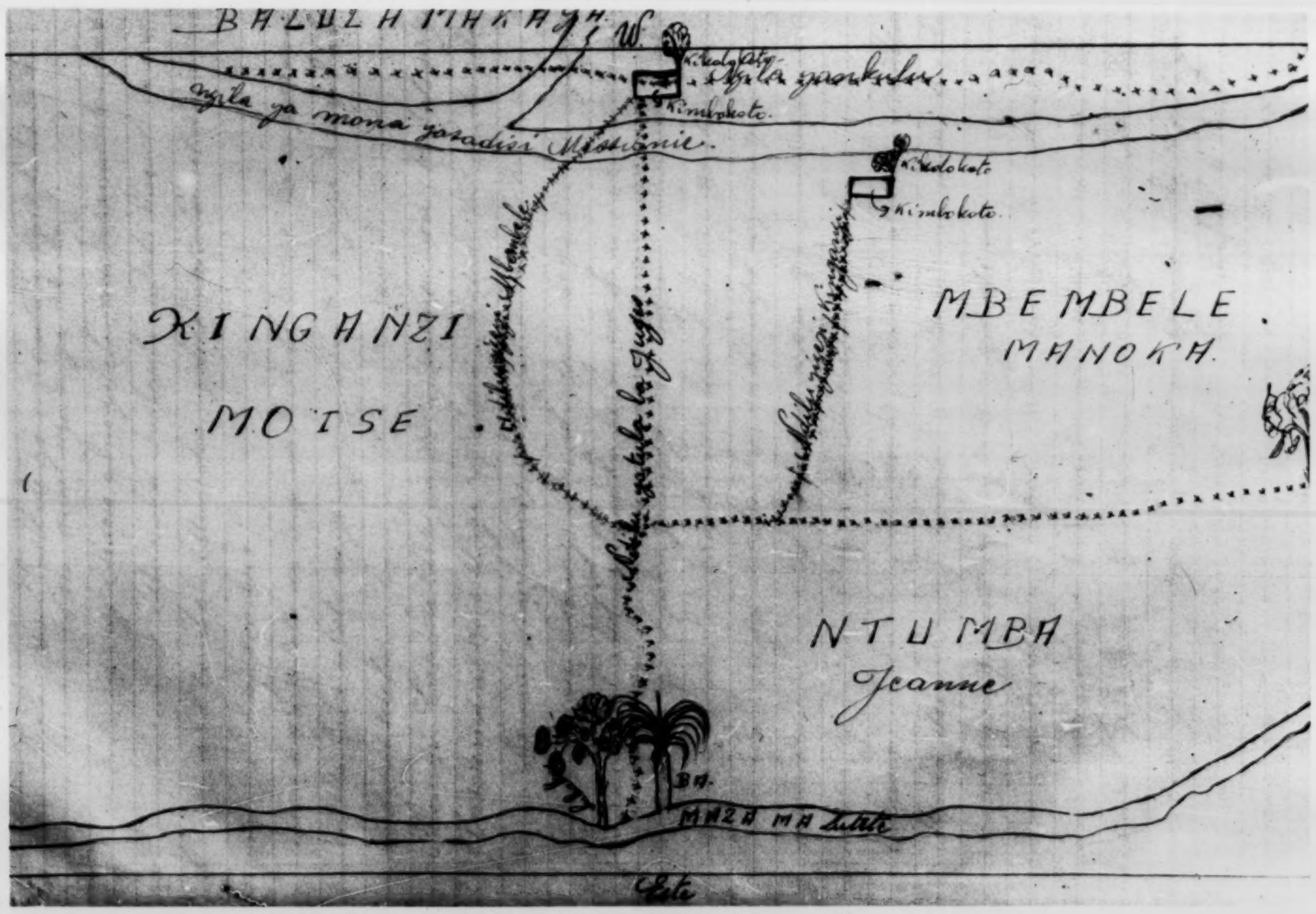

BALULA MAKAYA
KINGANZI MOISE
MBEMBELE MANOKA
NTUMBA Jeanne
Missionie
MAZA MA

Fig. 27.— Judge's land case map, Kivunda

where another set of criteria, resembling more a patchwork quilt pattern of land right, appears to predominate. A majority of land cases result in the kind of division shown in figure 27 where the judges have drawn a compromise line between the countering claims of Kinganzi Moise and Mbembele Manoka. The judges' maps, furthermore, do not show the additional fragmentation of estates resulting from the transfer of specific hunting, fishing, tree-cutting, fruit collecting, and cultivation rights.

It would seem that the coexistence of the two types of estate model, that of inalienability and that of conveyability, evident in the above, indicates a continual presence of both "status" and "contract" custom in connection with land tenure, rather than a gradual movement from the former to the latter, as Maine contended. I have argued elsewhere that this condition results from the presence of both models within the social structure, and the tendency for secondary and tertiary estate members to occasionally act as if they constitute a primary estate, with full power to transfer their estates in their immediate charge to parties other than their original patrons. The coexistence of the two contrasting models of estate has been encouraged by the paradoxical colonial effort to simultaneously apply geographic boundaries to everything in the name of effective administration and to uphold certain authentic or inauthentic "customary laws" in the name of applying this "custom" better than the natives themselves know how. The nature of the conflict between the two models of inalienability and conveyability of estate lies not so much in their abstract difference, since they really represent two ends of a continuum, as in the particular conflict between specific individuals each of whose action stems from differing tacit assumptions.

The conflict arises, first of all, from the nature of the difference between consanguinal (matrilineal) status distinctions within a single descent group, as for example that of mother's brother to sister's son, and the other relationship between two descent groups demonstrated in the "father"--"son", or mase--bana bambuta tie. According to Kongo customary law landed matrilineages could delegate plots of land to their clients, who, in many cases, after one or two generations of cohabitation with the patron group, would in fact be the children due to close intermarriage between patron and client group. Thus the clientage system was usually also defined in terms of kinship relations.

Kinship rules state that an individual, whatever his status, has nominal access rights to the estate of three matrilineal groups in addition to his own. He may work on his "fathers'" land for his entire life, although this right is not legitimately transferable to the son's consanguinal successors. Additionally, he may by kinship right obtain access to the land of his father's "fathers" and his mother's "fathers" lineage estate land for temporary occupation. The four groups constitute an individual's "four corners" and give him ritual as well as jural identity. It is within this network of reciprocal rights and obligations, that we find the major part of estate allocations being made. There seems to be no sharp conceptual boundary, however, between allocations of resources within the range of the "four corners" and those made occasionally between people who are not related by kinship. The parcel of land just below Nseke-Mwini called Nzengi-Ngenga (see fig. 11), for example, is currently being worked by outside women; neither they nor their husbands are in any way related to the people of Nseke-Mwini. Of similar character are the instances where teachers and merchants obtain land rights from non-kinsmen to cultivate improved plantations.

The question of whether such transferences of land constitute contracts, in the full sense of the word, or are linked to status considerations, continues to depend more upon the relationship between corporate lineages than upon the individual kinship relationships. Even beyond the pale of kinship, corporate group, status still remains a factor. When neither of two corporate lineages is threatened by the other, the transference of land and access rights may appear to involve nothing more than an agreed upon exchange of rights for money or some other good, i.e., an obligation and a contract. They are closely-reminiscent of one of the prescribed ways in which it was thought that strangers or conquerors could gain access to local lands (see Chapter IV). In current times there is a greater tendency for these quasi-contractual agreements to be made between groups or individuals who are not neighbors with adjacent "inalienable" land boundaries. In brief, they are safe agreements. The status-linked character of all transferences becomes evident, however, when one or the other party is threatened, and seeks to reclaim earlier possessions. It is apparent, then, that we are dealing here with what Maine called the "conveyance", a transfer of property involving not only the "naked" aspect of rights and obligations, but more broadly, the reciprocal identity of the persons or groups involved (Maine 1960:185-89). Within this mutual regard of the status and identity of two persons or groups there is much latitude in Manianga custom for all types of "conveyances." With this in mind we may understand the statement of a number of native judges that land has always been "sold", teka katekwa, and that transactions in modern times are little different from those enacted by the ancestors long ago. As Maine points out, conveyance is a broader concept than the contract; it includes both the transfer of proprietary rights, i.e., identity, as well as obligation, whereas contract is a more specific focus upon the rights and obligations apart from consideration of status or identity.

The entire ideology of inalienability, the locus of which is the makulu, symbolizes the integrity of the matrilineal estate. Thus land and natural resources are not today watched closely because they are inalienable, but because land tenure is a function of corporate stature. The party which is unable to defend its various estate dimensions from fragmentation through keeping careful record of former transactions, leases, and accession of temporary rights, is in danger of losing what it commands. Conversely, sometimes it is advantageous to forget these records and certainly, lineage genealogies are fitting examples of alternate selective memory and amnesia. Land boundaries fixed by certain place names, trees, natural features, and artificially-placed ditches, rocks, and the like, are only useful insofar as they can be defended by specific recollection of the items of exchange and the persons involved.

All this may appear very chaotic.[1] In practice it is turbulent, yet there is a check on outright selfishness, land-grabbing, and theft. Kongo judges are overworked as the only governmental servants with a good deal of contact with the population. But by ingenuity and educated ear they try to establish precidents in every case they handle. Since the emphasis in this chapter has been on the nature of the estate, I shall present only a few typical court cases to demonstrate the assumptions of both judges and the judged in this regard.

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[1] Although the Belgian colonial government made much of upholding the customary law and ruled it autonomous by setting up native courts complete with scribes in conjunction with the Circonscription Indigène system as early as 1935, certain ad hoc biases did enter into the program. Most striking of these was the assumption that every conflict involved a "right" and a "wrong" party. The judges, operating resolving a conflict by legitimizing status factors. Although the colonial government never systematically attacked the problem of boundaries, it

In one case before the Kivunda Secteur Court (Procès-verbal du tribunal, #174, October 29, 1943) the plaintiff based his claim to a certain contested tract of land on the fact that he, as classificatory sister's son to the previous users and cultivators of the parcel, had a priority over the defendant, his senior in age, a "son" (mwaana mbuta) and former client of the plaintiff's matrilineage. The defendant claimed that he had acquired this parcel from his "fathers" when he liberated himself from clientage. Although he had not as client worked the parcel, he felt that the terms of the "purchase" were sufficiently clear that no one need question his right to it now. This case then was a conflict between two individuals who claimed right to a plot of land, one on the basis of patrilateral ties, the other on the basis of matrilineal inheritance. The panel of judges then asked the plaintiff's consanguinal elder in charge of land affairs of his vumu (lineage segment), if he had given his "son", the defendant, details of the boundary regarding the parcel of land. He replied to the negative, adding that he had not in fact ever "sold" or transfered the parcel to anyone. The

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assumed that boundaries once established, would be final, thereby failing to understand the flexible estate system.

court ruled that this latter, matrilineal senior kinsmen of the plaintiff, could permit access or sell the parcel to whomever he pleased, thereby casting both plaintiff and defendant as conflicting parties in a premature squabble over inheritance, reaffirming the authority of the senior matrilineal kinsman who according to the matrilineal rule of land inheritance should determine such things.

This outcome appears somewhat inconclusive in that it does not really resolve the conflict between the two disputants; rather, it postpones it. The decision does, however, reaffirm proper deference to the mother's brother, the administrator of the estate in question. But that both "son" and "sister's son" should with all seriousness lay claim to the same parcel indicates one of the typical points of tension in Manianga society.

In another case (#44, April 19, 1943), a similar conflict arose over a parcel of land that had been cultivated by a client. The plot lay adjoining the makulu, cemetery and ancient settlement, of his patron's lineage. It had been cultivated by several parties, all of whom including the defendant, were now freed from clientage to their former patrons. The former patron was objecting to the fact that a former client, the defendant, wanted to "sell" the parcel to a totally unrelated outsider of another village. The patron lineage speaker and primary claimant to the parcel was requesting on behalf of his descent group that their former client and actual user of the parcel sell it to them rather than to the outsider, since, after all, it was part of their original matrilineage estate, and lay close to their settlement. The court rules in this instance that if the defendant did not wish to continue working the parcel he could "sell" it to its former rightful owner, his own former patron group, but not to an outside party, since the parcel was part of a matrilineally-defined makulu estate.

Another case (#92, October 3, 1944) however turned out differently because the former patron lineage representative could not convince the judges that the tract of land actually belonged to anything like a unitary estate. He had invoked his se ("father" and patron) rights in "buying" the tract back from his former client when the latter was redeemed, but upon inquiry by the judges it was determined that long ago this parcel has been "bought" from yet another prominent lineage by the client, thus it could not be a part of the same makulu as was being claimed. The conflict in this instance actually hinged on the fact that the former client had made a quick double-handed deal before returning to his home village by "selling" it both to his former patron-"fathers" as well as another party, the plaintiff. Eventually the representative of the former patron group retracted his statement that this sale had meant anything, and that he had merely moved in to work the tract on the assumption that clients return land to patrons when freed, as assumption not upheld categorically by the court.

These three cases express typical modes of status and kinship ambivalence in terms of land conflict. All are concerned with the problematic dissolution of the patron-client relationship. Implicitly they serve to define the character of the estate, its alienability or its conveyability. The point to be emphasized is that in the process of acquiring a more emancipated status, the client group is actually in the process of constituting its own estate, and begins to assume the prerogatives of a primary estate group with rights of allocating land from an emerging makulu focal point.

Extra-Lineage Pacts

The customary institutions in Manianga property transference coming closest to Maine's classic "contract" are the ntwadi, from twala, to bring (together), and the kitemo, a term whose etymological roots are uncertain. The ntwadi is a quasi-secretive agreement made between two individuals in which the one confides livestock, cash, or other investment objects to the other for a rate of interest. If it is livestock that has been confided, the confidee collects a certain percentage of the offspring, for example. The kitemo is a rotating credit association comprising a number of primary members each of different lineages, the bangudi bantemo, literally, the temo "mothers", who are supported by their lineage members, the baana bantemo, literally, the temo "children". Following the characteristic collection and distribution methods of rotating associations, the principal temo member receives funds periodically from his supporters for deposit in the temo rotating fund and when his turn for collection comes he then must distribute proportionately to his supporters. The main difference between the two forms of extra-lineage agreement is that the ntwadi is concerned with an investment with interest over time whereas the kitemo is a kind of savings bank without interest, but with the assurance of a return of funds on a periodic basis. Both represent rational economic action, with the risks as well as the dividends of the ntwadi perhaps being the greater. Many modern commercial ventures are couched in the ntwadi form. Successful merchants may "put to work" funds coming from other private sources. One particularly successful "operator" from the Manianga was able to do a booming business in printing, trucking, and import commerce with funds entrusted to him by several national senators and the governor of the Kongo Central Province himself. The traditional kitemo, likewise, appears commonly among the civil servants and other non-peasant sectors of Manianga society.

Both of these types of extra-lineage structures constitute a "consensual contract" or pact, because it is the "mutual assent of the parties involved that is the final and crowning ingredient of the Convention" (Maine 1960:195). In a social sense the difference is only that the ntwadi is operative between individuals who have usually bypassed or even subverted lineage interests, whereas the kitemo is between lineages, with full corporate consent and participation given the representative who is one of the "mother" members of the kitemo circle. Maine notes that the consensual contract, in spite of its verbal origin, must be accepted as a full contract because of the mutual obligation honored by the parties involved. The binding character of both types of pacts in Manianga society depends largely on the evidence that can be produced to affirm that indeed an agreement was reached. The kitemo and the ntwadi are indeed pacts of honor, but also of mutual benefit. Ntwadi and kitemo defaulters are today brought before the courts in the Manianga, an indication of their legality as mutual obligations before the public eye, even though, as with many other types of agreements, no written record is deposited with the state. Defaulters are usually expected to follow the spirit of the agreement in meeting their obligations.

In one instance for example a principal kitemo member had delegated his position to another person, but when the time for collection and reimbursement arrived, the surrogate "mother" failed to distribute the funds to the twenty-two "children". The panel of judges ruled that he must honor the spirit of the agreement and reimburse each the 200 francs (then 4 dollars) they originally deposited.

The disjuncture between circulation of property or goods, as evidenced in the kitemo, and investment, present in the ntwadi, is apparently a traditional point of contrast, but one which has become more critical in recent times. It is not just the contrast between individualism and corporate lineage interests that is involved here, but a conflict between the individual enjoyment or consumption of benefits coming from the ntwadi and corporate lineage utilization of wealth that is implicated in the issue. Although both the ntwadi or private contract as well as the kitemo are upheld as legitimate economic operations before the court, the ntwadi remains basically a secretive agreement on the part of the individual before his lineage members, as do most private financial concerns.

The problem behind the conflict between individual and corporate lineage stems in large part from the fact that the lineage is a poorly equipped body to invest for gain. This is admitted readily by many persons. It is commonly believed that whereas a youth will spend money wantonly, his lineage elders on the other hand will hoard it, neither of which alternative leads to a growth of lineage funds. The lineage coffer in the hands of the nkazi is normally frozen for ritual usage such as marriage and mortuary ceremony payments, exchanges which constitute the economic backbone of the alliance network between lineages.

The kitemo is essentially an outgrowth of this system, conceived in non-ceremonial circumstances. Funds and wealth circulate, and are available for certain prescribed ends, but they are not to be invested by any one group for gain.

However to meet the exigencies of obviously advantageous investment for capital gain, several solutions have been discovered. Some lineages with imaginative leadership have "reincorporated" into what is colloquially called an "association". Thus one lineage of Kimata in the Kivunda commune invested a large sum from its coffers into a herd of cattle, claiming by this move to have become transformed into a commercial enterprise in addition to the conventional lineage estate which it comprised. One of the lineage men was assigned the task of managing the lineage enterprise. In economic, i.e., consumption, terms, he still remained bound to corporate consent.

An alternative solution to the problem of investment was taken by a group of men of the Massangi region who organized what is essentially an investment-oriented kitemo, agreeing not to expect immediate returns, and even then, not on a rotating basis. Each member, representing a single lineage, collected funds from individual kinsmen and from the lineage coffers to invest 10,000 francs in cattle. Twelve lineages thus participated in the venture with an initial capital of 120,000 francs. Two of these allocated lineage land for pasture and today, six years after the original investment, the herd has doubled in number to nearly fifty head. Marketing poses a serious problem to this group, since merchants are poorly equipped to transport livestock. But the economic organization of this group is strong, although exclusive, and poses itself as a successful alternative to the open public cooperatives such as the ill-fated COPAM and the floundering SOCOMAN (see Chapter II).

It is evident from these two examples of semi-public corporate enterprises, created either within the matrilineage, or in conjunction with the corporate lineage idea, that investment of capital is not ultimately incompatible with the nature of the lineage. It is the structure of economic consumption which matters most. So long as this is organized in a manner that it does not subvert lineage identity, it appears to succeed.

The mystical and economic realms of lineage identity are closely juxtaposed. According to native thinking, a lineage may be destroyed from the inside. The individual who draws up a secretive pact with an outsider is believed to be able to "sap" the strength and vitality of his corporate group. Just as kundu witchcraft comes from within the lineage, and is powerful only within the lineage, so only members of the lineage can subvert lineage economic interests. An elaborate mythology of subversion exists in Manianga society to account for the individuals who are at heart traitors to their corporate descent group. A witch is believed not only to be against his lineage, or against other members of the lineage, he is in fact a member of an association of witches which operates in secret and has its own markets where at night the very essence of human strength, the mwela, is negotiated, transferred, possessed, and consumed in much the same manner as goods otherwise are manipulated in legitimate association. The difference between legitimate outside association and illegitimate, or witchcraftproducing, outside association is that the former receives corporate approval. Lineage headmen, it is sometimes thought, possess kundu and undertake commerce with the spiritual substance of their lineage members. But this is legitimate because the headman is the corporate representative to the outside, just as is the legitimate "mother" of the kitemo in real life. Significantly, it is through the father-son link that the lineage is believed to be subverted most often. A man can curse his own wife in this way through an agreement with his son, her consanguinal matrilineal kinsman.

Two points may be made in conclusion. Firstly, it must be emphasized that every person is an individual who may engage in private pacts for his own interest with another. Kongo customary law recognizes this as legitimate. But secondly, every person is also a member of a corporate lineage which has its own rules of identity boty in a mystical and an economic sense. It is this lineage model which provides the terms of all corporate organization, whether it is the hamlet comprising several status-differentiated descent groups, the kitemo of rotating credit, the tribal association, or even the kitemo of witches, the anti-lineage.

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT FROM THE MEN'S HUT TO THE COMMUNE

The Context of "Oil and Salt" Rhetorical Discourse

In this chapter I describe the nature of the two levels of government which correspond roughly to what Belgian colonial literature calls the "customary" and the "administrative". The two are in fact not as mutually exclusive as colonial policy might have wished. Higher governmental structure and action has appreciably affected the customary mode of regulating public affairs, and particularly since 1960, the "customary" mode of government has invaded the "administrative" at the level of the *secteur* or commune. Thus if any dichotomy between "customary" and "administrative" behavior is to have relevance at all, it must focus on the distinctive modes of decision-making, allocation of authority, and the manner in which both of these are symbolized.

In the context of daily affairs the Maniangans have become accustomed to two public institutions of government, the commune as the place to pay taxes, register marriages, deaths, and births, and settle serious disputes, and the men's hut as the combination of chiefly dwelling, court, funeral bier, drinking hall, any one or all of these, as the various terms for "the hut", *mbongi*, *boko*, *yemba*, and *lusanga*, suggest. In contrast to the nzo, the lineage "house", which is a metaphoric model of the descent group, the men's hut denotes the actual forum or assembly in which setting much of the closely-nuanced, daily binding and loosening of intra- and inter-lineage affairs occurs. It is the context where, to use the Manianga expression, "oil and salt" genre of rhetorical discourse is most apparent. "Oil and salt" denote the two edges of the razor of proverb, enigma, and epithet used in all public discourse. Oil smooths over, calms, or minimizes antagonism, whereas salt irritates, attacks, bites, and creates tension. A good orator has a plentiful supply of both.

The men's hut is not merely, as some writers have suggested (see for example Balandier 1963:306), the meeting place of the male members of small client groups in order to assert their solidarity against their patrons. It is rather a highly flexible form in the socio-political context of the hamlet for expressing alliances and antagonisms. Thus hut circle membership may be as various as a few brothers on one hand or a collection of men of the principal lineage with their adolescent and adult "sons", the male adult clients and their "sons" and retainers, on the other hand. The hut is a micro-polity not necessarily based on rules of descent, although again in instances, descent groups in one de jure unified lineage may have separate huts at either end of the joint settlement, as is the case at present in the Kimbanga line of Kisiasia.

In speaking of their "hut", mbongi, yemba, lisanga, etc., the Maniangans may refer to phenomena as diverse as the actual building of logs and thatch (see fig. 29), the habit of eating and drinking together on the part of a group of males, or even, more importantly, the assembly held in, or, if the group is too large, in front of, or anywhere near, the hut building when important palavers are "cut", i.e., resolved. The men's hut has its parallel in the urban setting wherever emigres gather to talk and drink. The hut circle, similarly to men's clubhouse and inn elsewhere in the world, provides the setting for daily expression of political inuendo as well as for periodic

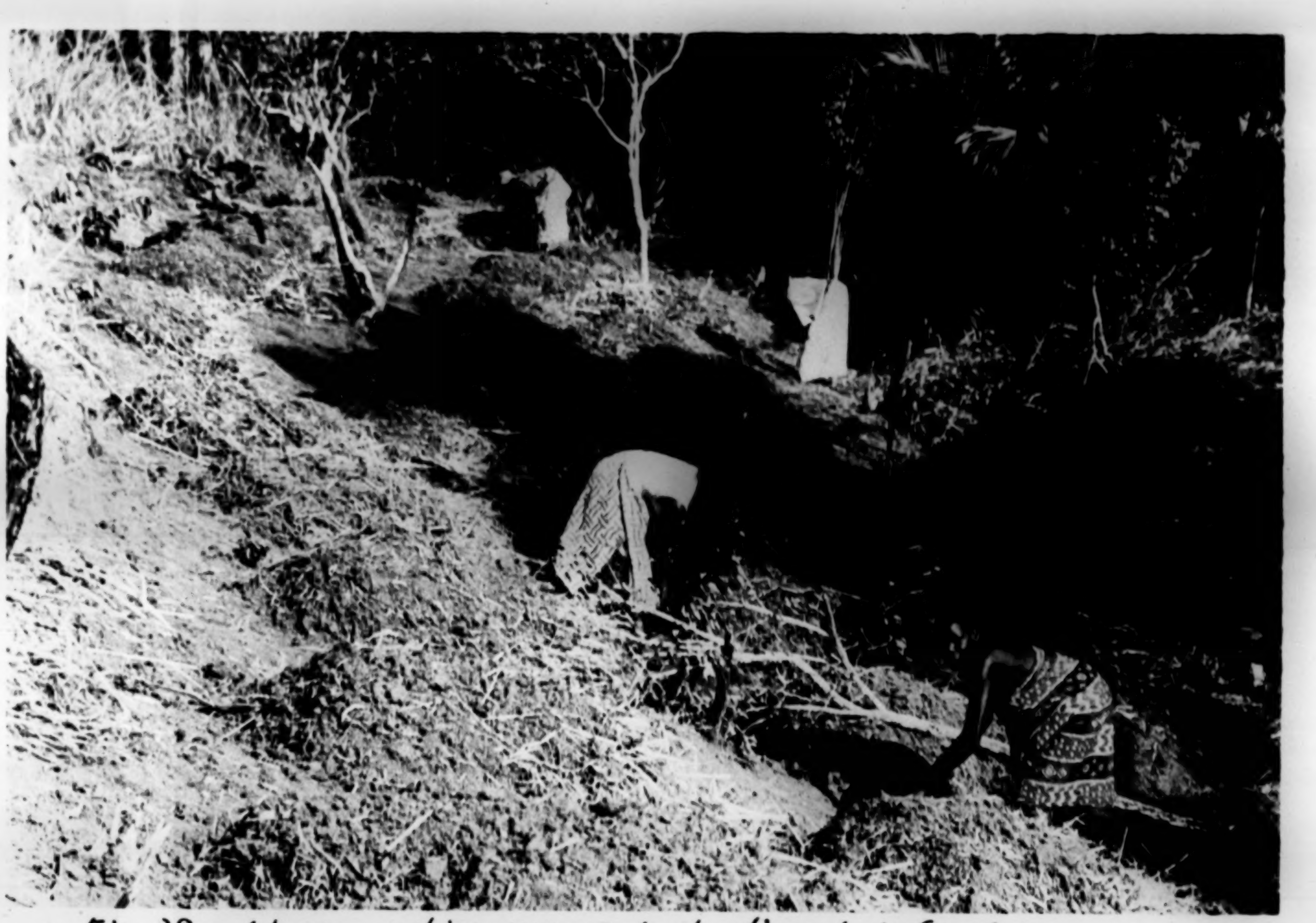

Fig. 28.— Women working savanna land adjacent to forest

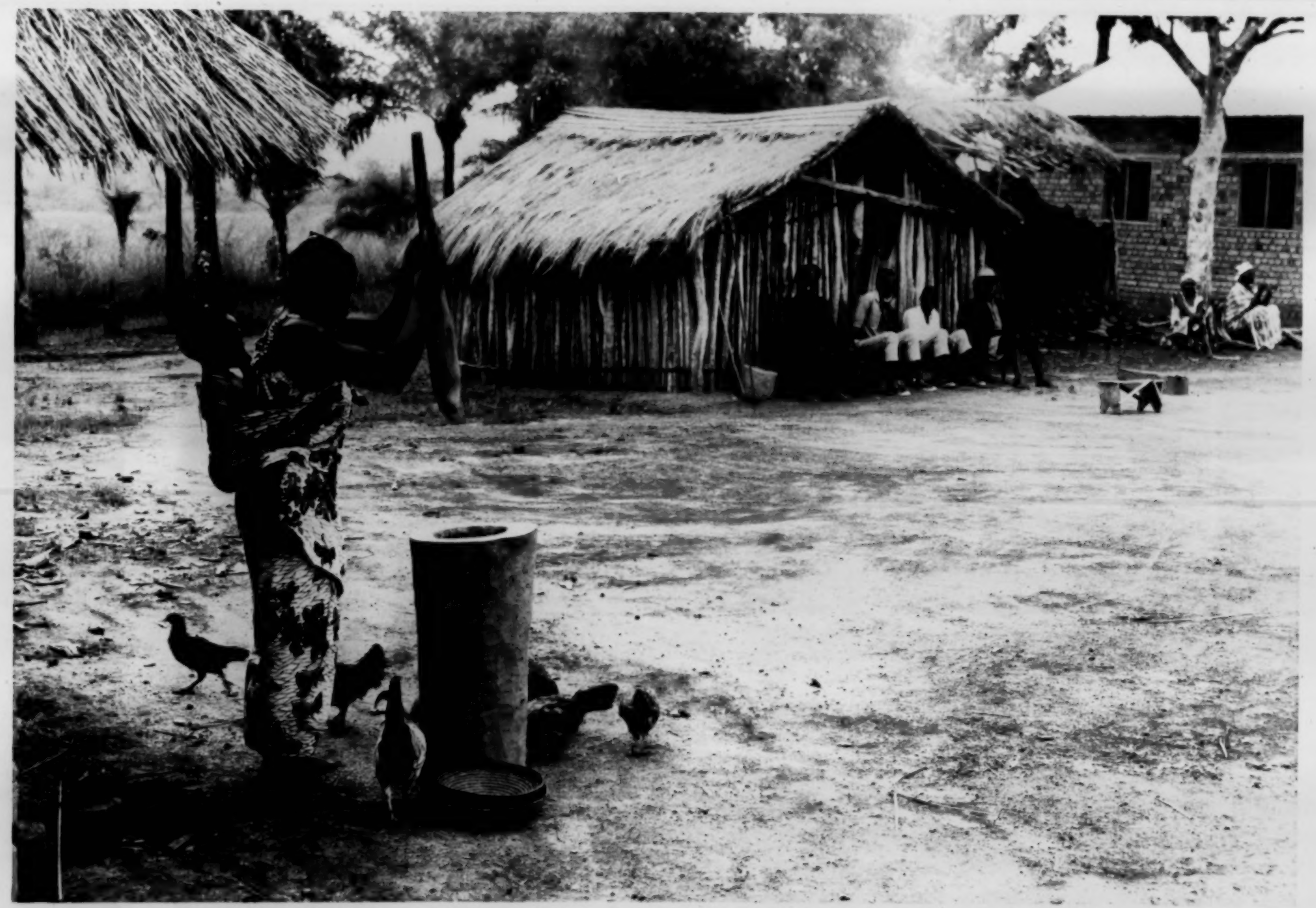

Fig. 29.— Men's hut of Nseke-Mwini, frequented by Nsundi and Bwende

spectacular crisis. As such it is an accurate gauge of the bonds and cleavages present at other levels of organization in the lineage, the hamlet, and community.

A brief sketch of the composition of the men's hut circle in Kisiasia and some surrounding villages will illustrate the point. In Nseke-Mwini there is at present one log and thatch construction (see fig. 29) referred to as the mbongi. Inside are a few chairs and log seats around the hearth. At the back wall rests the large nkonko barrel drum used to call assembly or worship, announce a death, or to warn of a marauding wild animal. The recognized chief of the hut, in Kisiasia, the mfuumu a mbongi, is Nsila, headman of the Nsundi lineage and government recognized duki of Kisiasia. Every evening Nsila lights the hut fire and eats the meal brought by his wife. His uterine brother Luninsa and his classificatory brother Makosi are usually there with him. These three constitute the stalwards of the hut, the senior men of the Nsundi lineage residing in the hamlet. Nkebi, classificatory nephew of Nsila but with no direct mother's brother residing in the hamlet, Makosi's younger brother Batalana, and Nkebi's close classificatory brother Kusembo, are the middle generation regulars of the hut. Nsumunu, Makosi's son of the Bwende matriline, eats with his wife and child but is present in the hut whenever important issues or interesting news are discussed. Lemina, of the Bwende, and classificatory cousin of Nsumunu, son of a former client of the Kimbanga still residing in Kisiasia, frequents the hut regularly although because of the distance of his house (see fig. 11) from the remainder of the hamlet his occasional absences at the hut are noticed. Congenial, Lemina however keeps a studied separation between himself and the Nsundi, for reasons already discussed elsewhere. In addition to these adults, the hut circle of Nseke-Mwini is extended to Mikangunu, youthful nephew of Nsila who has just come from childhood with his mother elsewhere to take up residence in his own lineage settlement. Finally, there is Nkwamusu, son of Nsila, who along with his mother is client of the Nsundi. The men of the Kikwimba line, formerly clients in the hamlet and today still residents there, are conspicuous by their refusal to set foot in the Nsundi-dominated hut.

Prior to 1950 when the Mazinga, Nsundi (of Nsundi-Bakongo village), and the Kikwimba descent groups were still in clientage to the two principal lines of the hamlet, there were two huts in Nseke-Mwini. The Nsundi segment of Nsundi-Bakongo village "sat" with the Nsundi and Bwende and until their return home their senior male was chief of the hut and principal mpovi, speaker, of the two patron lines. The Mazinga and the Kikwimba had their own hut apart, and according to present-day comments, were antagonists of the other hut group. This antecedent condition account in part for the action of the Kikwimba today.

In the Kimbanga-dominated hamlet of Kisiasia there has usually been only one large hut group, and at various times in the past client males have also been hut chief. In 1966, however, the greater Kisiasia hut was purely the concern of the Kimbanga line, and few clients, or remaining former clients, participated in routine activities. In order to balance the distribution of authority-related offices in the Kimbanga line, and because he is a competent organizer, Nzuzi of the junior sublineage is hut chief. However in March of 1966 his immediate consanguinal peers and juniors decided to erect their own hut in the new settlement of Mayala in response to tensions between them and the senior line of the lineage headman Piala. In February already the old hut building showed signs of rapid deterioration. One day in March it was razed, and indications pointed to a merger of the two hut groups, at the new location, although the senior men, especially of the senior sublineage, were unwilling to discuss the matter with me in any great detail.

It is evident from the foregoing that the "hut" is a social circle symbolized by the erection, maintenance, and destruction of the actual hut building. In two neighboring villages this was abundantly clear. Kintwala village to the north of Kisiasia is a rather large settlement of several hundred inhabitants belonging to three or four major lineages. Here, however, there are no actual hut buildings. Kintwala men congregate in several open-air circles after dark around their respective fires. When asked about the absence of a permanent hut some Kintwala men suggested that in the past there were hut buildings, but evasively spoke about lack of materials, last-year's damaging rains, and the like. Outsiders, however, were quick to point to the solvent state of political alliances in the village as the real reason for the absence of huts. In other words, no one was willing to jeopardize the delicate balance of power by erecting a hut building, thereby tacitly defining the political communities.

In Buyala village to the south of Kisiasia, the local Kimbanga clan section, distantly related to the Kimbanga of Kisiasia, dominates hamlet politics, and appears to be the main political presence of the hut constructed centrally in the settlement (see fig. 34). The evening hour, however, finds several males of the Kimbanga and those of remaining former client lines assembled around a fire near the brick-press shelter. When asked why they are not in the principal hut, they reply to the effect that they find it more "convenient" elsewhere. When asked if the shelter is in fact another hut, they deny the allegation, suggesting that they are merely using it as a roof to protect them from the rain, and so on. But outsiders assured me that the brick-press shelter was indeed a "hut".

This ill-defined pattern of hut-group composition is replicated in most villages and hamlets, serving to define the alliances and antagonisms on a day-to-day basis both within a single and between separate descent lines. Despite its flexible character the hut circle is nevertheless the outward sign of a micro-polity, the crystallization of a minimal public in which common affairs are dealt with and where membership is largely determinate. Where authority within the defined group is diffuse, the hut formation will reflect this fact. Where it is centralized, this will similarly be evident in the hut affairs.

Pre-Colonial Government by Market Chiefs, Judges, and Lemba Priests

A strictly contemporary and synchronic profile of the "hut" community fails to account for the reason why a particular combination of affairs is delegated to this assembly for consideration. An account of the pre- or early-colonial antecedent of the modern hut indicates what associated institutions formerly existed, and to what extent the modern hut has been shorn of certain functions. Deleval (1912:107) describes the mbongi as residence of a chief of a village polity among the Kavati of the Eastern Mayombe, a group containing some Manianga, as he observed it shortly after the turn of the century. As chiefly residence, the mbongi is the largest building in the settlement. It contains numerous bamboo beds and accommodations for youths in the lineage who have returned from their father's village to that of their mother's brother but who have not yet constructed their own houses.

These accommodations are also available to passing travelers, guests, and kinsmen. The large nkonko drum used in summoning people to assemble or to help rout beasts from the fields or to announce a death in the village stands in or near the mbongi. Cult and personal shrines for which the chief is responsible are found in a back corner. (Lineage ancestral and other shrines are located in the center of the village.)

The mbongi, as its name suggests, is the site of palaver settling as well. The chief himself, or delegated judges, preside. Mbongi (derived from bonga, to bring to, to take), refers either to the building, the court itself, or to the plaintiff bringing a case. "Mbongi, wabonga mambu" is a descriptive statement of the hut's activities, and can mean either that it is to the chief's residence that one brings a palaver, or simply, that the accuser brings his palaver. And in this same vein: "nsamu kulusanga, ntotodi". a palaver never occurs without there being an accuser, suggesting the prominent role of arbitrator on the part of a chief or delegated judges under the chief's charge.

The picture drawn by Deleval (1912) of the mbongi at the turn of the century is that of a balance between popular tribunal and court on the one hand and a centralized chief's "palace" on the other. Ethnographic and local oral evidence available on the nineteenth century Manianga and immediate surroundings indicates that a local region might vascillate from centralized rule under a dynamic chiefship subsuming surrounding villages to government by popular concensus and arbitration of serious conflicts by judges and Lemba priests. There is good evidence of significant localized chiefdoms such as that located at Nseke-Makendi (see fig. 11) from whose commanding lineage stem the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini. There is also evidence for influential political units in eighteenth century such as Mbanza Bwende, presumably the origin of the bweno chiefly title (Laman 1957:138). But by the end of the nineteenth century there were no longer any centralized political units to speak of in the Manianga. Local North Manianga informants such as old headmen, judges, and Lemba priests insist that the immediate pre-colonial period was witness to government by the Lemba society and the judges, with settlements usually comprised of one or two principal lineages and their clients. Authority here was usually assimilated to the office of lineage headmanship, although the distinction existed the luyaalu lwa vata, government of the entire settlement, the luyaalu lwa kanda, government of the lineage (Munzele 1965:9). Beyond this the only governmental functions were embodied in the acephalous market cycle where committee decisions by the "market chiefs" were the rule.

We may safely assume, then, that the pre-colonial political and governmental structure of the Manianga, as that of much of the Kongo-speaking region, must have conformed to something like that which Plutarch (1961:64) so aptly describes for Greece before the laws of Lycurgus. ". . . The state, which before had no firm basis to stand upon. . . . leaned one while toward an absolute monarchy when the kings had the upper hand, and another while towards a pure democracy when the senate (had) a central weight." In early Manianga society there were forces such as the judges and the Lemba society, which, like Lycurgus' senate, "always adhered to the kings so far as to resist democracy, and on the other hand, supported the people against the establishment of absolute monarchy." An examination of the various traditions of chiefship, judgeship, and priest-healership will demonstrate the factors leading to one or another type of government.

We may begin with a consideration of chiefship and those aspects, both ritual and jural, which if predominant, would have tended to lead to political centralization around a chiefship. First of all, it is significant that there were many orders of chiefship in pre-colonial times. The office of mfuumu a mpu, the "crowned chief", was a generalized ritual chiefship with the primary function of being direct emissary of the ancestors. In some instances this office was more generalized than any single lineage, and appears to have represented regional or clanic divisions of society, as it is reported to have done across the river to the south (Mertens:1942; Van Wing: 1949). In the Manianga, however, the more typical pattern for the mfuumu a mpu was that of assimilation to the more prominent lineage headships (Munzele 1967:23). The mfuumu a mpu functioned as guardian of the ancestral basket containing relics of preceding individuals in a particular chiefly line. The office was couched in an elaborate tradition of initiation by seclusion and communication with the ancestors. Correspondingly, it was associated with the ritual colors of white and red, denoting the idea of sacredness, ancestral truth (white) and communication, transition, and passage (red). Some crowned chiefs were said to tremble as in more recent times the nguunza, or prophet, practices ecstatic trembling.

A characteristic feature of most Kongo authority-lending offices was the blend of mystical and the temporal symbols. The related sacraments or "power" offices were however susceptible to commercialization, although this is probably not true of the office of crowned chief. In order to aggrandize their prestige, lineage headmen, initiated into one or another order, could acquire additional chiefly sacraments like the bweno, the ndembo, or the mbenza, all relating to offices of power (Laman 1957:138).

These title orders were apparently an important indication of actual power earlier on in the eighteenth century of the small kingdoms from which they emanated, but, although the evidence for this period especially is scant, it seems that even such titled chiefships were subject to the rising and waning characteristics of all "orders of chiefly office" in this part of the Lower Congo. At their most prestigious moments they would exact a high price for entrance or initiation, and provide a corresponding authority. During the ascendent period of the Bwende kingdom in the Middle Manianga (ca. middle eighteenth century) for example, inauguration into the bweno order by a village or lineage chief meant alliance with that kingdom. Later, after its demise, the bweno title provided little more than a name, in the shadow of which any chief might bolster his claim to collect taxes and duties. Whether in fact this tendency to decadence of the nineteenth century was due to a general segmentation of larger kingdoms or merely a continuation of cyclical condition that had always existed is difficult to determine, but it does seem safe to conclude that at the close of the pre-colonial period there were many title chiefs with little effective power.[1]

The climax to the reign of such a title chief entailed elaborate mortuary rites involving the religiously-significant drying the chief's corpse over a fire (often in the "hut" which had been his residence) to provide for a proper separation of the vital life principles some of which lingered in the blood and body fluids. This was essential to the community of the living; it assured them that the chief's soul and person would not return to haunt them thereafter. The drying ceremony was, in fact, reserved for all relatively wealthy individuals. In addition to the opportunity it afforded for conspicuous display of individual and lineage wealth (sometimes, as today, an individual would request that all his earthly accumulations be buried with him, (then) including slaves), the lapse of five and six years involved in such death and burial ceremonies served to freeze court and juridical activities and to prolong the inevitable conflict over succession to office of the deceased chief.

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[1] Along this same line it is today not uncommon to find persons who, as lineage or village chiefs, claim to be "crowned chiefs" in the old tradition even though they have not undergone the requisite inauguration nor exercise any of the expected functions of office. Similarly, provincial counsellors and national senators, long after their unsuccessful bid to a second legislature, continue to distribute calling cards headed "counsellor" and "senator." The curious title "senator for life" reserved for demoted national presidents may be related to this.

One reason for the commercialization of chiefly titles by the late nineteenth century may have been the rising trade with the coast. As the influences of a generalized commerce spread farther inland, the tendency to shifting balances in power also increased, giving rise to a corresponding competition for fetishes and titles of "power" and frequent extended feuds during the interregnum (Laman 1957:138; Vansina 1965:118).

Deleval's description of the chief's hut among the Kavati of Eastern Mayombe at the turn of the century suggests how the balance between diffuse authority at the hands of judges, market chiefs, and the Lemba association and the centralized authority of petty chiefs might have been altered in favor of the latter alternative. Certain chiefs, he notes (1912:107), kept their personal title shrines in the "hut". Accompanying this display of power, there were often elaborately carved coffers in the hut in which the chief's wealth was conspicuously stored. At the time of his death these coffers became a personal sarcophage and the goods the wherewithall for a lavish mortuary feast. A few chiefs, in grand climax to their rule, had themselves buried in the hut itself by their next of kin, making of the settlement and in particular of the hut--tribunal, court, popular political forum--a personal shrine. In order to govern effectively a successor would need to move the settlement and create a new "régime" at another site.[1]

In spite of sporadic petty chiefdoms of the nineteenth century, the immediate pre-colonial period in the North Manianga is incontrovertibly said by local informants to have been a time when government resided in the institutions of the judgeship, the acephalous market, and the Lemba association. Control of the markets was in the hands of a "committee" of market chiefs assigned from the various settlements participating in each market (see fig. 32). There where single markets had not been sequestered by individual chiefs, a vertical equilibrium of power between settlement authority and market authority obtained. The mfuumu a vata, holding the title of Yetisi, or Yetila, although representing a village government apart from lineage headmanship, was however sovereign in village affairs only insofar as he could represent his community before the powerful market "government". Any consolidation of power at the vata, or settlement level, tended thus to be offset by co-membership of the Yetisi in the council of chiefs of the market. The market chiefs, being the delegated spokesmen from each of the participating villages would meet in the market center prior to actual

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[1] The commercialization of power and the individualization of chiefship may indirectly have stemmed also from a rising sense of insecurity on the part of the population. Crystallization of power in the hands of petty and ostentatious chiefdoms resulted in a decline in emphasis of the public functions of markets in certain areas.

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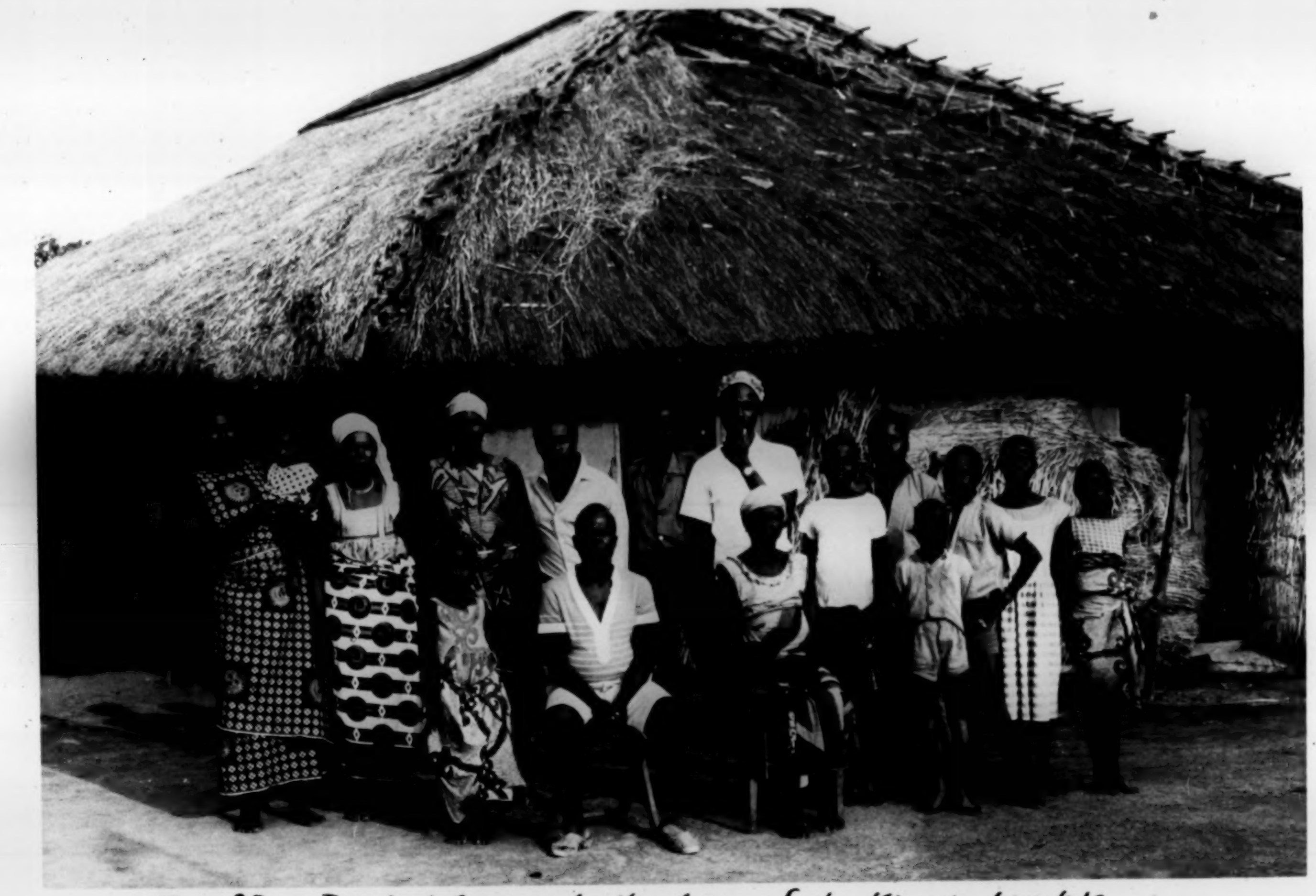

Fig. 30.— Principal freeman family of one of the Kimata hamlets

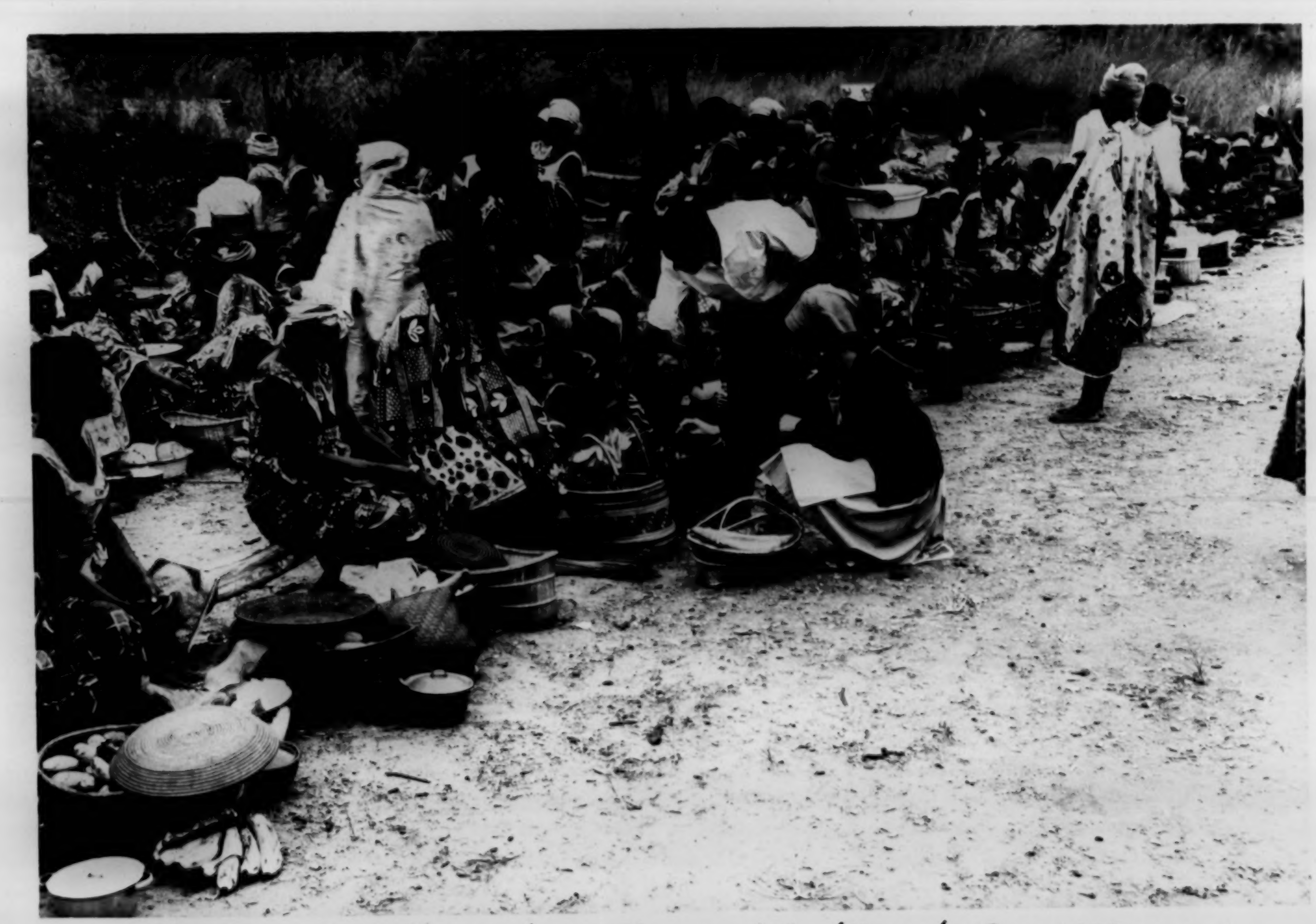

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Fig. 31.— Saturday market, Mbanza-Lele, Kivunda Commune

trading to "open the market" while the contingent of men, women, and children from each settlement waited at its respective entrance. The pre-trading council of market chiefs then privately determined who had what to sell or exchange, whether there were any criminals (e.g., murderers, recedevist thieves or adulterers) in any of the "entrance" groups deserving to be "planted in the market" (i.e., executed publicly by live burial following which a sharpened bamboo pole was driven into the culprit's head by his own uncle or possessor) or if, as sometimes happened, hostilities were so great as to require calling off the market of that day. Actual trading and buying was then done in the market center by delegates of the "entrance" groups. Women and children were seldom allowed to wander at large for fear of being seized into captivity. But following a peaceable successful market the men would commonly gather under a shelter to drink and talk.

In the context of the acephalous market structure the Lemba association, comprised of the prominent lineage headmen, judges, and healers of the region, provided the element of ritual cohesion to an otherwise segmentary social structure. The Lemba priest had the ritual duty of "calming the market", ndembikisa a zandu, to assure peaceful trading. Since the market was the ultimate court of appeal, and the site of live burials of criminals--a fact confirmed by examination of the market sites--the lingering antagonism over judgment could easily break out in open fighting to impair the underlying economic function of the market. Outside of the market context the Lemba priest had a similar cohesive role of organizing and halting the nzingu, or feud. Within the market setting he could pass judgment upon anyone who appeared with a gun, something rigorously forbidden by the minsiiku mia zandu, the laws of the market. The semi-mystical role of the

Lemba priest however indicates the total significance of the association in the integration of a society made up of isolated settlements and decentralized, continuous, market cycles.

In keeping with the acephalous nature of the market the Lemba order was itself organized on the pattern of a territorially-continuous association, drawn from every micro-polity at the settlement level, much on the order of the associations described by Forde among the Yako (1961:309-323). Prior to the arrival of the Congo Free State in the North Manianga there is evidence that the Lemba succeeded well in checking claims to excessive power by individual chiefs. Normally, prestige and power stemmed from the particularistic aggrandizement of wealth in slaves, client groups, and land. But such particularizing prestige was offset by entrance requirements to the Lemba in strictly "moveable" property such as livestock (pigs, chickens, etc.), the goods of exchange, par excellence. Thus the Lemba initiation, which by its prohibitively high standards granted prestige nevertheless, tacitly emphasized the market functions in that it promoted the circulation and consumption of moveable wealth. Admission into the Lemba provided an access for any lineage head, judge, or healer, to recognized status, while at the same time supporting the elite Lemba "brotherhood". One widely remembered indication of the status of the Lemba priest is his freedom of movement. Along with the judge, he is said to have travelled freely in the entire present-day North Manianga without having to fear capture or attack, as was unfortunately often the case with ordinary individuals.

Within the scope of this work only a few brief additional comments are necessary to convey the "leveling" role of the Lemba in the Manianga society of the late nineteenth century. Recruitment to membership involved a degree of patronage because of the prohibitively large initiation fees, but commonly both patron and client status individuals were members on an equal status basis. The Lemba also included a parallel female branch for the mimbanda lemba, the group of principal wives of the banganga lemba, the Lemba priests. The Lemba mythic charter, as has already been noted, upheld status equivalent alliance between lineages, and valorized the extended exchange of goods rather than the restricted hoarding within a single settlement. Finally, judging from the character and ability of remaining Lemba priests, it is clear that qualities of refinement, sophistication in social and intellectual demeanor, and maturity were important criteria for admission into the exclusive association. The positive qualities of the ideal Lemba priest were symbolized in the ingredients of the lukobe lwa lemba, the Lemba satchel, which every priest received on initiation, or "descent into" and "resurrection from" the "white" of the other-natural, ancestral presence. The satchel contained the Mahuungu hermaphroditic statuette, the white clay of legitimate authority and the red clay of fertility, and so on. The secrecy to which the Lemba priest was sworn remained to the end a function of the exclusiveness with which the "all-around Man" of Manianga society was regarded.

The role of the nzonzi, speaker or judge, remains to be discussed as an antecedent to the contemporary men's hut. Traditional adjudication of conflicts may be characterized by two principal dimensions, that of presiding arbitrator and that of speaker. In the context of the chiefly hut the presiding arbitrator would usually be the village chief, the market chief, or the lineage headman. Given the non-pyramidal nature of authority in traditional Maniangan society, interlineage disputes could not be taken to a "higher" authority other than the market. Thus importance was placed on arbitration of differences. Each party would engage an outside speaker to present its case, thereby not risking a direct confrontation with the disputant. This custom, as will be seen below, has been retained in full strength up to the present. Elaborate rhetorical devices such as the proverb and the sanction-producing song, elements of the "oil and salt" discursive genre, were utilized. Effective judgment hinged on the extent to which the two speakers could achieve a reconciliation between the disputing parties, without forcefully obliging them into it. Also, mystical sanctions challenging the integrity and honor of the disputants were utilized. To ta ndefi, to swear the oath, was common. Land disputes were of course the greatest challenge for the judicial system. If normal arbitration in the context of the hut of either of the contestants could not produce accord, then the court moved to a hilltop between the two conflicting parties' habitations where under the patronate of nkisi-nkondi, the sacrament of agreement and mutual respect, the priest of nkondi would administer the rite of driving iron wedges into the anthropormorphic nkondi statue, sacralizing the pact of accord between the contestants. If this measure failed, the feud was resorted to. Special sites existed for this purpose, and actual fighting was limited to the use of clubs and sticks. Rarely were lives lost in the process. A Lemba priest or some other mystically-backed officer presided, and could intervene, in theory, although no doubt feuds often surpassed the "limited war" described here.

Traditional government, as it existed in about 1880 before the intrusion of the Europeans, was thus a combination of institutions such as the hamlet-focused hut, the village chiefship (sometimes synonymous with dominant lineage organization), the acephalous four-day-week rotating market system, and the Lemba order. It was a segmentary society for the most part, but one with the potential for centralization. Just how centralization within the colonial administration transformed the pre-colonial structures and balances is the subject we turn to next.

Early Colonial Petty Despotism of the Chefferie

When the agents of the Congo Free State began to visit the North Manianga following ca. 1890 to recruit work crews, register villagers, and collect taxes, divisions were thrust into the ranks of the market chiefs and the Lemba society. There were those who opposed any and all collaboration with the European, on the one hand, but there were those on the other hand who, for one reason or another, cooperated. In the early years of the Free State administration, as we have already suggested, effective intrusion in local affairs on the part of the Free State agents was sporadic and localized. But the presence of the agents on horseback with their Lower Congo soldiers was an ominous shadow over the entire region. One elderly man of the village of Nseke-Mbanza recalls that his mother's brother shot and killed a European who came around to recruit for workers on the railroad. But for every European killed, many more Congolese were either killed or forceably deported in these early years.

The Free State decree of October 6, 1891, outlined the policy to be followed in establishing formal relations with the population. Contact was to be fostered in whatever way possible with those "chiefs" who were favorable to the Free State regime; they would then come under the jurisdiction of the European District Chief. By tracing the origin and history of two of these colonially-backed chiefdoms, it is possible to convey the general picture of how the North Manianga was gradually transformed into structures totally different from what has been described above.

During the nineties MeNtela of Massangi was local headman of the Mazinga lineage, and possibly also one of the market chiefs at Nkila (see fig. 32). Bingundu, of the settlement of Kiniangi to the north, was in a similar position vis-a-vis the market of Mpika. Both of these men, according to local recollection, were bitterly opposed to the Europeans. It is said that MeNtela had vowed to eat European flesh rather than to succomb to foreign domination. But MeNtela's equivalent and close friend of Nsundi-Lutete, Masiki-Nkombo, with whom he had drawn a pact of intimate friendship, did accept the foreigners' presence and eventually dissuaded MeNtela from his earlier plans, pointing out the wisdom of compromising and allowing the Europeans to support his local prestige. MeNtela of Massangi and Bingundu of Kiniangi thus became heads of the first chiefdoms of their respective regions to be recognized as central authorities over several villages, however recalcitrant they may have been toward their European overseers.

MeNtela died in about 1905 and was buried at the Massangi makulu of Makulu-Menga together with nine slaves. The settlement was subsequently moved, and the chiefship, now recognized by the government, was taken over by Manene of the Mazinga clan section at home in Kingila, although Manene was both client and "son" of the patron Mazinga of Massangi. The exact role of the European agents in this succession is not all too clear, but common recollection is that Manene was a weak and ineffectual chief even though he did receive a medal of honor from the colonial government.

Legend for Fig. 32--West-central region of Kivunda rural commune as of about 1880.

NKOYI	Acephalous market
○	*Makulu* of dominant lineage
→	Migration direction from *makulu* (to present-day settlement)
- - - - -	Acephalous market area (based on participation in market chiefship, not territorially defined)

Legend for Fig. 33--West-central region of Kivunda rural commune (same area) as of 1966.

⊙	*Secteur*, Commune (of Kivunda)
Ⓖ	*Groupement*; *chefferie* prior to 1933
K	Kimbanguist Mission, outpost, or school
P	Prophet Church sanctuary
‡	Catholic Mission
†	Protestant Mission
×	First and/or Secondary degree primary school
▯	Secondary School
M	Market
-----	*Groupement* boundary (based on administrative delegation to unit, not identified territorially)
●	Settlement, approximate scale
——	Major and minor roads (footpaths not shown)

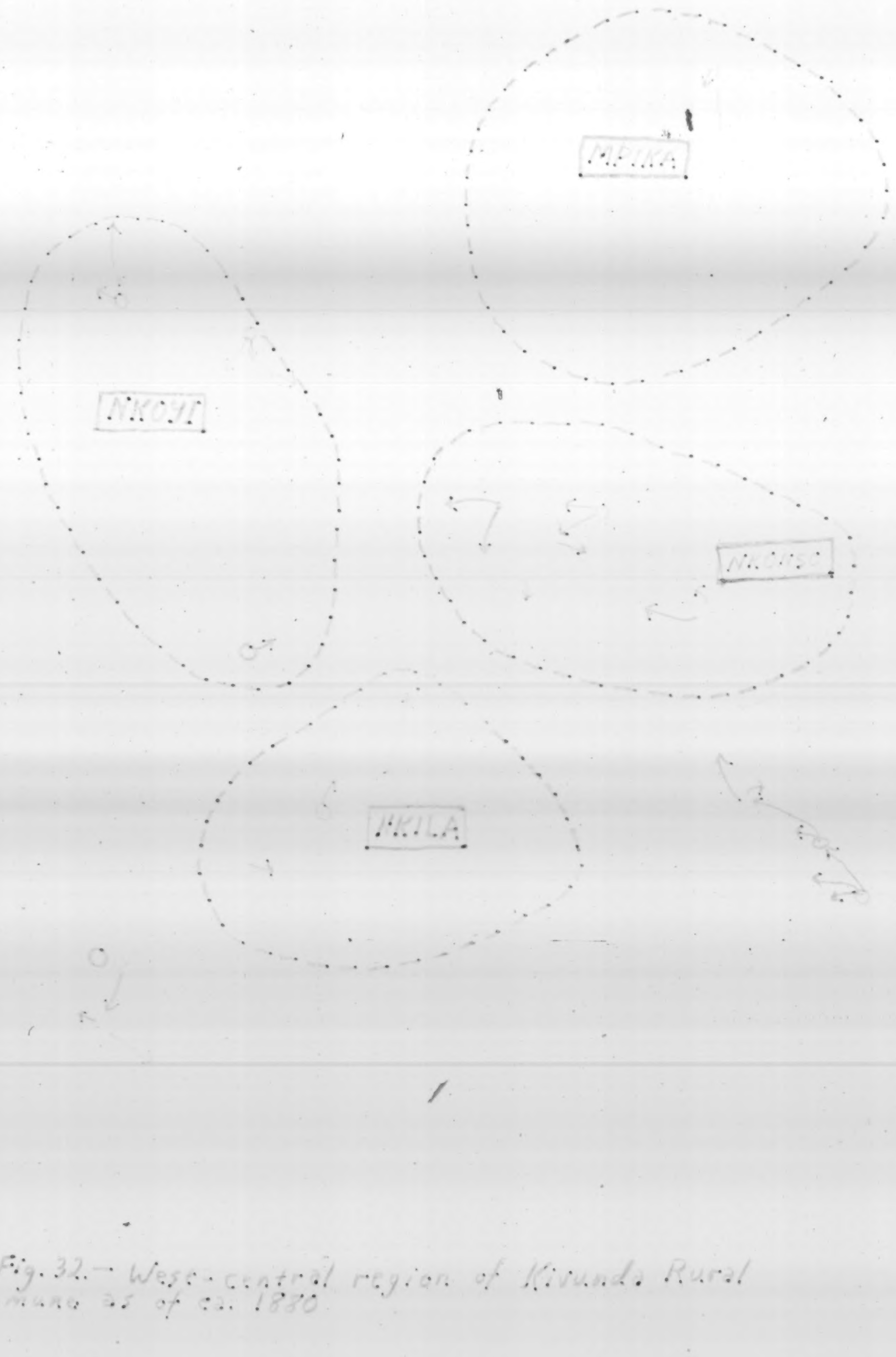
MPIKA
NKOYI
NKONSO
NKILA

Fig. 32.— West-central region of Kivunda Rural Commune as of ca. 1880.

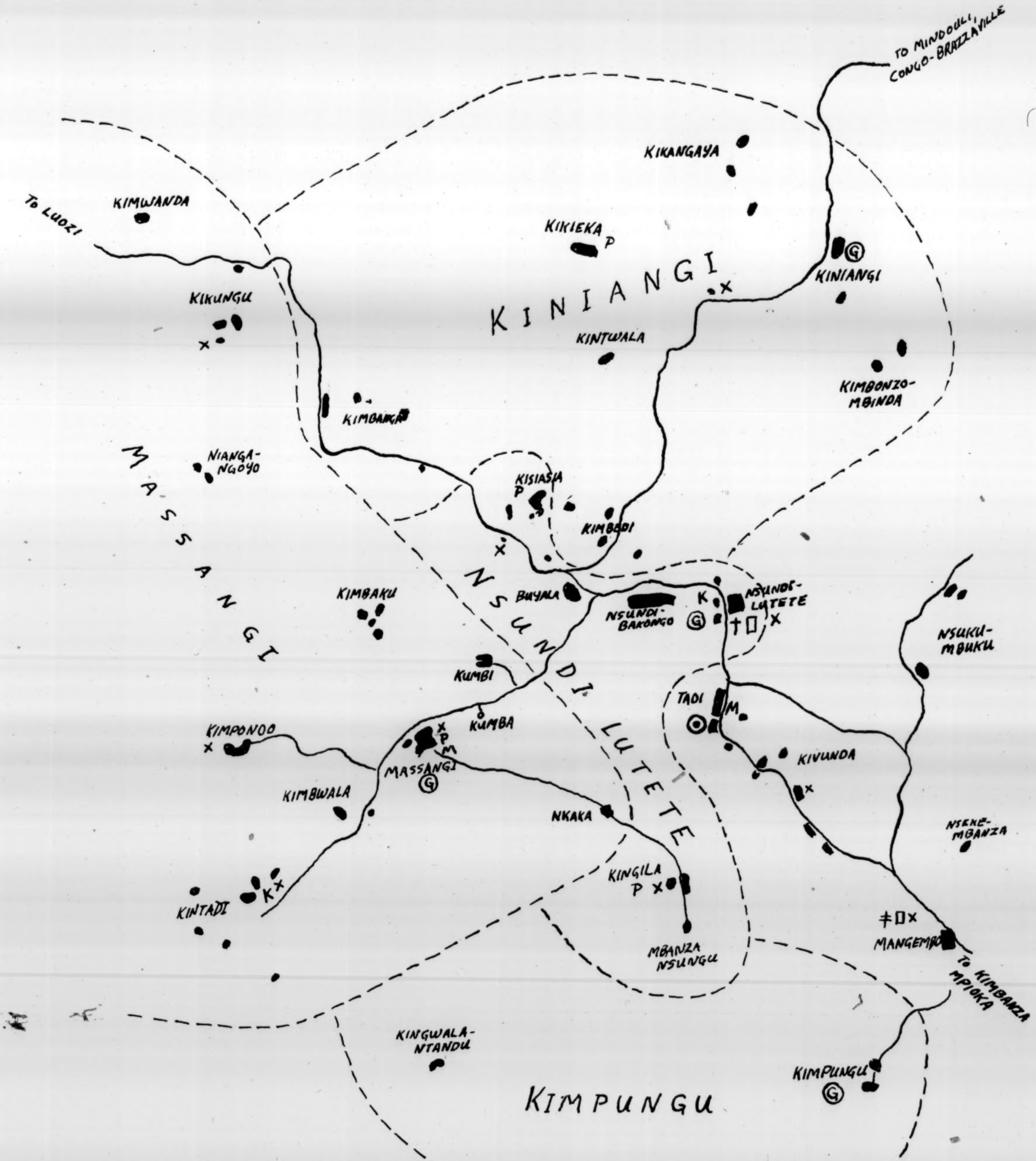
TO MINDOULI, CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE
KIKANGAYA
KIMWANDA
To LUOZI
KIKIEKA
P
KINIANGI
KINIANGI
KIKUNGU
KINTWALA
KIMBONZO-MBINDA
KIMBANGA
MASSANGI
NIANGA-NGOYO
KISIASIA
P
KIMBODI
NSUNDI LUTETE
BUYALA
NSUNDI-BAKONGO
K
NSUNDI-LUTETE
KIMBAKU
NSUKU-MBUKU
KUMBI
TADI
M
KUMBA
KIMPONDO
KIVUNDA
P
M
MASSANGI
KIMBWALA
NKAKA
NSEKE-MBANZA
KINGILA
P
KINTADI
K
MANGEMBO
MBANZA NSUNGU
TO KIMBANZA MPIOKA
KINGWALA-NTANDU
KIMPUNGU
KIMPUNGU

Fig. 33.—West-central region of Kivunda Rural Commune as of 1966

Before too long, however, his title and office were taken from him and the government-recognized chiefship passed on to Maheola of Kintadi village in 1910. But in about 1915 it was returned to Massangi when Madionga of another client line to the late MeNtela's Mazinga became the "medallion" chief.

A similar dislocation of authority occurred in Kiniangi. Bingundu refused to cooperate extensively with the new government and in about 1910 his classificatory sister's son Kinanga accepted colonial patronage and received a medal from European agents, forcing Bingundu to flee into hiding, both from his nephew and from the colonial government. The local coup here was similar to that of Manene over MeNtela at Massangi, reflecting the manner in which the interests of the colonial regime used personal discontent and aspiration to gain entrance to indigenous legitimacy.

Free State policy perpetrated many injustices and led to a decay of regulatory institutions. In areas such as the Manianga where local authority was segmentary, the patronization of isolated individuals served to disrupt considerably the market council of chiefs and the Lemba order. In a decree of June 3, 1906, the Free State sought to "ameliorate some of the abuses that were inevitable in the old system" by creating large chefferies as "administrative subdivisions in the European organization", even where, as was gradually realized, no such subdivisions had existed (Sourdillat 1940:17). Under this decree the chief's powers were limited, in theory, and privileges in monetary remuneration, honorary medals, and protection were granted. But the "limitation" of chiefly powers must be seen in the light of the fact that for the first time such "chiefships" were given the power to inflict capital punishment. Shortly after the take-over of the Congo by the Belgian government in 1908, a more detailed decree of May 2, 1910 ammended the one of 1906 in that it prescribed the inner organization and functions of the presumably native chiefdom, delineating how this would serve to fulfill part of the Belgian "civilizing mission" (1940:19).

Under the new decree the medallion chiefs saw their chiefdoms defined territorially, something quite alien to traditional ideas of authority. The effect of this upon the actual rule by the medallion chiefs was that they now acquired the power of taxation over a populace extending from six to, in cases, ten villages. The chiefs of these new chiefdoms, in addition, were in charge of their own courts with the authority to administer sanctions backed in theory by the government. The consequence of all these outside-supported expansions of power of isolated chiefs was that many of the _chefs_ _de_ _chefferies_ became, to put it bluntly, tyrants.

Kinanga of Kiniangi chefferie (which now included eight villages), created a private militia to help him "administer" on behalf of the colonial regime and to protect himself from personal competitors. He is known to have made frequent "inspection" tours through his domain seizing "criminals" and women, some of whom were other men's wives. The criminals faced Kinanga's method of sanctioning, i.e., to be extended over a fire until repentant or dead. The women ended up in his harem, which, at the zenith of his rule, numbered upwards of fifty wives. He was replaced by a less illustrious man in about 1935 when the creation of the _secteur_ reduced the autonomy of the chefferie somewhat.

Chefferie rule at Massangi, including fifteen villages, was never as overtly tyrannical as at Kiniangi under Kinanga, but in terms of changing native institutions it was perhaps even more significant. While Kinanga's tribunal all but withered away because of his extortionistic fines and the over-all bias in his rule, the Massangi chefferie tribunal came to be reputed far and wide as a fairly held court of justice. Madianga (who ruled from ca. 1915 to 1920), was succeeded by Kiodi, son of Manene (MeNtela's successor) and member of an inferior status lineage even below that Manene who had been a client of MeNtela's proported original "nobility" of Massangi. Kiodi, although of a lineage fragment possessing no land, nevertheless came to be recognized for his merits as chef de chefferie under the colonial administration.

Kiodi's rule at various levels (1921 to 1960) was typical of the changes effected throughout the region in the domains of market structure, land-holding, and native clientage. As the administration granted increasing support to a few chiefs in its endeavor to create large chiefdoms where formerly none had existed, these same chiefs began to lay claim to the market closest to their own villages. With the gradual demise of the Lemba association following about 1905 and its total discontinuance in 1921,[1] the market of Nkila, for example, was made the market of the Chefferie of Massangi, and turned into the administrative instrument of an individual chief. Some measure of institutional continuity was retained in that the chefferie corresponded roughly with one or two markets (see figs. 32, 33). But in the extended area today the commune of Kivunda, at least twelve earlier market areas were subsumed into five chefferies. Thus the Massangi chefferie came to have jurisdiction over the markets of Nkoyi, Nkonso, and Nkila. Nkonson was retained for a time because of the proximity of the Protestant mission established nearby in 1923. Nkoyi was abandoned. Nkila was annexed to the chefferie. In fact, the myth of "one chief, one market" became so prominent in later years that when in 1960 the ABAKO party tried, unsuccessfully, to resurrect the old market cycle, villages nearest to such markets claimed chief's rights to them by involving "noble" lineage genealogies going back to the market chiefs of former times, men who in fact were only one of several other equally-ranked market chiefs. This occurred, for example, in Kumbi village near Massangi on the basis that an old Kumbi makulu (abandoned former settlement site) lay in a valley below the Nkila market site atop a widely visible hill.

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[1] The demise of the Lemba association and the birth of the prophet movements in 1921, which in the Manianga at least, took on the same egalitarian structure, presents a highly important analytical problem relating to the general ethos of authority and the relationship of healing to power. Remaining Lemba priests generally give me a cryptic, although poignant, reason for the abandonment of their association in 1921 in so abrupt a manner: the prophets, stemming from Kimbangu, could raise from the dead; the Lemba could only heal. In other words, their power was eclipsed by that of the prophets. Many Lemba priests themselves trekked to Nkamba to verify their suspicions visually before actually discarding their association. Significantly, this occurred in the Upper Manianga before the presence of any missions in the area. Nsundi-Lutete was not opened until 1923, and Mangembo a few years later.

The salient point to be remembered in all of this is that the market, just as all other earlier public functions, was subsumed first to the chefferie, and later, to the colonial administration itself. When the chefferies became groupements in 1944, the market structure was centralized even more; the principal secteur market came to be held at Kivunda, and smaller markets were opened here and there in the outlying regions, but not along the old system.

Parallel changes in the judicial institutions (ca. 1910 to 1944) also resulted in giving the "medal" chiefs greater power than many a small village or market chief had enjoyed formerly. This was nowhere more visible than in the domain of land holding. Aside from the blatant disregard for objective judgment shown in a chefferie court like that of Kinanga, there was a modicum of judicial procedure at the chefferie tribunals similar to that which had been handled by chief-judges, or independently-operated judges in the village men's huts formerly.

Kiodi of the Massangi chefferie became a widely-reputed judge following his accession to chiefship in 1921. A number of other judges were appointed as time went on to assist him. Centralization of judicial institutions at the insistence of the colonial government meant that aside from family conflicts and intra-lineage affairs, all civil cases (i.e., land disputes, divorce, debts, and petty thefts) were to be brought before the government-approved chefferie court.

Kiodi, the reputable judge and chief, however managed to increase his own land holdings and those of his lineage. Although born into a "tertiary estate" descent group of Massangi, in thirty-nine years of office first as chief of a chefferie, then of the Massangi secteur (after 1935), and finally as large secteur chief over five other groupements (chefferies), he managed to acquire land holdings larger than that of his original patrons. An indication of his judicial techniques and skill in manuverings (i.e., justice for cases at a distance, power for those close to home) is that from 1933 to 1944, while he heard many cases from far away, only three from closer to home, with adjoining villages, were brought before the court, and these had the aura of bitter feuds.

The Placid Hand of Bureaucracy in Secteur Government

In 1944 major administrative reforms were introduced, further minimizing the place of individuals and imposing the ordered regularity of government by decree, prohibition, and enforced programs. An increased participation by the native public in governmental affairs reflected the extension of colonial administration down to the details of daily life rather than a growing voice in decision-making. In October of 1944 (Arrete no. 655/337/AIMO, abrogating that of December 5, 1933) the centralized secteur was created, uniting the various chefferies, or small secteurs such as Massangi, Kiniangi, etc., into a single administrative unit. The smaller units continued to follow their earlier organization, and were henceforth called groupements. The new centralized secteur of Kivunda comprised 174 mbongi-centered settlements within 41 administratively-defined "villages".

The decree of October 24, 1944, raised the office of chef de secteur to the large secteur level, while it named the previous chefferie or small secteur chiefs chefs de groupements. In the new Kivunda secteur the chief's office was occupied by Kiodi of Massangi. His chef-adjoint, a new office, was filled by one of the other small secteur chiefs. In addition, the secteur staff included a principal and an assistant scribe and an agricultural agent. The same decree created the secteur council, comprising the chief, his assistant, and several judges. All judicial affairs were henceforth brought to this centralized court, to be regulated by judges whose title was conseilleurs de droit. Brief records had been kept of court cases from 1935 on in the small secteurs, but subsequent to 1944 the centralized secteur became a veritable bureau with paperwork consonant to the Belgian administrative system.

The secteur council became the main point of liaison between the colonial officials and the native population, and in theory its members were to circulate among the villages of their constituency, i.e., the groupement, administering the corvee and enforcing the hygiene programs such as latrine construction and grass cutting. They were expected to keep the administration informed on any lassitude on the part of the population in registering births and deaths, and in general, on any developments of what the colonial files called "insubordination", this being mainly religious sect activity.

The secteur chief also served as principal tax collector. By 1950 the receipts of Kivunda, coming from the head tax primarily, but also from a market tax, a bicycle tax, a gun tax, and court fines, amounted to 120,781 francs (then equivalent to 6,000 dollars), for a rural population of not more than 12,000 persons, including men, women, and children. In 1956 this tax was nearly doubled when the difficult-to-enforce corvee was abolished.

Although according to the October 25, 1944 governmental decree the secteur chief was to be the chairman at all council assemblies, as it turned out the council was mainly called together to hear orders whenever the Territorial Agent, who was constantly in the area, the Territorial Administrator, the District Commissioner, or even the Governor of the Province, would pass through. The agenda of one such secteur council meeting in 1955 with the Principal Assistant Territorial Administrator included the following items.

> The colonial officer in charge reminds the council of the pressing problems before them: (1) the fibre and coffee corvee must be kept up; (2) the secteur must see to it that the native housing be improved; (3) the fisheries must be expanded; (4) the council members must at all costs suppress obstinacy among the villagers; (5) hunting between the 1st of September and the

> 31st of December is forbidden;[1] (6) the council must concern itself more with "juvenile delinquents"; (7) attention must be paid to regulating "slavery" cases judiciously; (8) concubinage must be controlled; (9) polygamous marriages must be reported;[2] (10) all births and deaths must be reported immediately; (11) every effort must be made to collect the taxes; (12) finally, the council must help the administration enforce the prohibition of "subversive movements".
>
> One counsellor reacted with the question "what should students do when they return from primary school?" The administrator's reply: "Just what their ancestors did, i.e., work in the village and learn a trade." (Kivunda, June 16, 1955).

At another meeting with the District Commissioner the council members had prepared questions indicating what their expectations of the colonial government were.

> (1) Why aren't the concrete bridges along the roads constructed as promised to accommodate the merchants who buy our produce? (2) Why aren't the secteur buildings roofed with metal so that we don't have to continually bring grass for the thatch? (3) Why aren't the staff members of the secteur paid like other state employees and given a family allocation? (4) Let us be precise, for whose "company" does the secteur staff actually work? (5) What happens with the secteur tax revenue when it is taken from the bank? (6) Why does one have to pay for the second pass book? (7) Why don't the village chiefs (duki, capita) receive medals of honor? (8) Why aren't there any professional schools in the Manianga? (9) Why aren't the judges and the chiefs paid more? (10) Where are the merchants you promised who would buy our produce? (11) Why aren't we eligible for house construction loans (as the people of urban areas)? (12) In the past we were allowed to purchase three kilograms of gunpowder annually, during the war half a kilogram, and

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[1] This period is actually the preferred hunting season because the savanna has just been burned and the game is most easily visible. The colony was opposed to hunting at this time, however, because it quite correctly feared that soon all game would disappear. Following independence the ban was lifted, and hunting has again taken on the aura of former times.

[2] A colonial decree of 1951 ruled that "polygamous" marriages could no longer be contracted, although all established polygynous households would be permitted to remain. Any marriages resembling polygyny would henceforth be considered as concubinage, and punished accordingly. The rule on multiple marriage extended to prohibit any such households from settling in the towns and cities. After independence all these observations were disregarded or abrogated.

> now, why not at all?[1] (13) Why should our girls go to school if they do the same thing--work in the fields--in school as when they stay at home?[2] (14) Why is it forbidden to buy rifles, i.e., perfected arms? (Kivunda, August 18, 1953).

A considerable measure of the discontent reflected on the part of the council members stemmed from the double alienation of their own status, on the one hand before the population, on the other before the colony. With the population they were expected to carry out the administrative decrees involving taxation, corvee, hygiene, and other routine and distasteful tasks. They considered themselves to be the servants of the state. But before the government they were regarded as representatives of the traditional or customary government of the "village", the groupement, and the secteur. There was some discussion among colonial circles as to whether the secteur was indeed a "customary" or an "administrative" unit; a ludicrous issue, but one which suitably reflects the desire of the colony to at least keep a vestige of "indirect rule" alive. From an analytical viewpoint it is clear that traditional government in any strict sense had been reduced to the "hut", and even there, it was forbidden to adjudicate land, divorce, and inter-lineage conflicts.

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[1] While the ban on gunpowder in the period preceding independence may be self-explanatory, the rationale given by the colonial officers for this ban was that not only was it contrary to civilization to utilize gun salvos in marriage and mortuary ceremonies, but that the native guns were too dangerous to use at all. Nevertheless, the 1172 registered guns in the Kivunda commune qualified as taxable property, to which the councillors objected on the basis that the man who has a gun has no money; a gun is not a mark of riches, but of prestige; it is a heirloom. In 1961 the Luozi Territorial Government put up for auction the hundreds of native guns that had been conviscated during the colonial era.

[2] This complaint concerned the belief that the missions were using students excessively to work the mission gardens. All school students were required to work two hours per day by colonial law. The complaint however also reflects the misgivings over female education. Following independence the obligatory work rule was abolished.

The administration's assumptions regarding native authority can be studied with profit, both for the insight gained on colonial policy and for an understanding of the effect it had on the character of native organization. The decree of 1933 creating the centralized secteur was based on the tacit assumption that the chefferie was a legitimate indigenous institution, and that with a little revision the representative and judiciary machinery could be integrated to the secteur chief's authority. The council members of 1933 and subsequent years came to be called the notables or the "customary authorities". Later on the council was expanded to include a wider range of notables, namely the village chiefs (duki or capita), an office equally of earlier colonial creation. Within this group a sort of hierarchy was created, based mainly on the salaries or honorariums and medals of honor given the secteur chief and his "staff". Kiodi, the Kivunda secteur chief, for example, received a medal of merit in 1946, another "silver" medal in 1947 for outstanding service in a "customary" capacity, a medal for effort in war in 1948, and the Legion of Honor medal in 1954. Because they thus "represented the customary authority" the judges, secteur councillors, and capitas of the villages were exempted from the corvee which was however required of the lineage headmen and the hut chiefs. Colonial policy thus supported the notion that any representative of authority need not engage in manual labor.[1] Paradoxically, for this reason, argued one colonial officer in 1954, the secteur staff could not receive family allocations; they were not "workers" or "servants" of the colony, but its duly-established "authorities", an argument which was never clearly comprehended.

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[1] The same attitude is reflected in post-colonial times in the fear of a commune councillor that too close a degree of intercourse with the villagers will degrade this prestige before them. The councillor should tour his

By 1953 the secteur council meetings often included the village capitas, defined by the colony as notables. One may wonder at the motive behind this extension of the council. The restricted council consisting of the secteur chief, his assistants, the scribes, and the judges, were becoming increasingly loaded with administrative duties and had begun to chaff under the peculiar combination of "honor" and bureaucracy. The move to include the village capitas in the council suggests that expanded control of the population had become a prerequisite for the "customary" organization. By including the village capitas in the council the colony was raising their status so as to challenge the growing complacency of the upper "customary" officers.

A similar move, and for similar reasons, saw the council revised in 1957 to include the growing class of teachers, merchants, and petty professions such as carpenter, blacksmith, mason, woodcutter, and even cultivators. This democratization of the secteur council, a gesture of the administration and not of the notables, was a change welcomed by many, but it only further alienated the offices of the "traditional authorities" which were not traditional in the first place, but creations of the

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constituency no more than three times per year. By contrast, the new communal mayor of 1960, in order to dispell the notion that an "authority" shall do no manual labor, himself occasionally spends entire days with the villagers repairing the roads.

colonial government. The one word which best characterizes the colonial actions with regard to the "customary" end of the government is that of ambivalence, the effect of which was insecurity and insolence on the part of those who filled office, and loss of respect on the part of the population.

The court system, somewhat by contrast, became the one branch of the secteur government which grew in popularity. Because the judges continued to follow the traditional precepts of adjudication and arbitration, the action of the court remained coordinated with prevailing notions of property, value, and exchange. Thus the colonial decree that the judges dare not adjudicate affairs in the village resulted not so much in a confusion in legal practices but in a growing attendance at the centralized secteur tribunal. From March to June of 1951, for example, the Kivunda court heard 63 "civil" cases: four of divorce, two of conjugual abandonment, two of premature grass burning, ten of land conflict, seven of destruction of crops by animals, two of adultry, twelve of "family" conflicts, seven of defaulted debt, five of witchcraft accusation, four of assault and battery, and five concerning slander. During the same period it heard twelve cases defined by the administration as "penal", including three on the failure to declare death or birth, and nine on the failure to comply to hygienic requirements of clearing the village of grass and building latrines. Normally the land conflict and crop destruction cases would double during the period from September to December when the rains began again and cultivation commenced. Although during the months prior to independence all secteur activities, including the court, were boycotted by the population of North Manianga, shortly after the take-over of the Congolese government the court resumed its hearings, with more "civil" and far fewer "penal" cases.

The secteur court was, however, plagued with one difficulty characteristic of the secteur staff, namely that of insufficient salary. Here too, the colonial argument of "honor" and "traditional authority" remained far from convincing to the judges who must devote many days of the year to tedious hearings. In 1954 a secteur judge received 8 francs (16 cents) per affair heard, but already at this time the judges expressed the feeling that 40 francs per hearing would be more reasonable. In 1957 they asked for a share of the fine money paid the court, or for a portion of the animal of debt payment in keeping with authentic traditional procedure, but this was denied them.

Before commenting on the changes in secteur government in post-colonial times, it is appropriate to examine the kind of composite structure which the secteur government, neither fully traditional, nor adequately incorporated in the administration, actually represented. Far from being a purely pyramidal structure linking the lineages (i.e., the mbongi governments), the "villages", the groupements, and the secteur in hierarchic fashion, the secteur was more the juxtaposed fusion of various patterns growing out of the history of colonial myths on what "customary" government should be. The office of secteur chief had in most cases been occupied in 1944 by one of the chefferie chiefs; succession to this office was made by appointment wherever necessary. Otherwise, as in Kivunda, it was contingent on the satisfactory service of the office-holder. Its representational character may be questioned. At the time of independence ABAKO party officials in charge of local elections ruled that all colonial secteur chiefs were ipso facto ineligible for candidacy.[1] Their successors were popularly elected, and in many cases took over the secteur machinery with good effect.

The secteur council, similar to the secteur chiefship, represented a colonial reformulation of native society. At first, in 1944, comprised of the secteur chief, his assistant, and the judges, the council represented the sub-regions of the secteur only insofar as the judges came from geographically-different corners of the secteur. The inadequacy of this structure was recognized later when the groupement chiefs, largely invalidated by the creation of the secteur, and inactive as regards any administrative or political duties, were ex officio added to the council. When in 1953 the village capitas were brought in to attend the council meetings, any hierarchic position the groupement chiefs may have was still further undermined, creating conflicting spheres of authority among the population. Any further sense of hierarchic order of the representational structure of the secteur was negated when in 1957 the emerging professional categories of teacher and merchant were admitted to the council at the expense of the notables. The colonially-sponsored popular elections of 1959 would have opened to the electorate the office of council member, but by that time prevailing issues had surpassed the one of local representation.

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[1] In the North Manianga, where the colonial-sponsored general elections of December, 1959, were totally boycotted by ABAKO supporters, i.e., the entire population, local governmental functions, including the court and taxation, were taken over by the party. It was only in May of 1960, one month before independence, that popular elections, this time sponsored by ABAKO, were held and a new secteur chief put into office.

Euphoria and Reality: Post Colonial Government

The ABAKO-sponsored elections of May, 1960, effectively terminated what one individual called "a thousand years of Belgian colonization". Yet the machinery of government available to the new regime had largely been formulated by the Belgian administration. Thus in the first secteur council meeting reconvened in Kivunda following independence, a combined forum of eleven councillors drawn from the ranks of the merchants, teachers, etc., all the groupement chiefs, as well as twenty-four notables, were on hand to hear the Congolese Territorial Agent tell them that

> ". . . the role of the councillors is to transmit to the population that which is decided at these meetings . . . Because of the bad state of the roads the councillors must get their people to work them voluntarily . . ."
>
> Someone asked why he must pay the same taxes as under the Belgian regime, and the A.T. replied: "so that the government may maintain itself; furthermore, after the country is calm, there will be taxes the Belgians never even thought of levying . . ."
>
> There was a pep talk on citoyennete. "A citizen is someone who is clean, has clean clothes, a clean body, and a clean village. For in a civilized country the most important thing is cleanliness".
>
> "Everyone must also respect the European colon and the missionary. The colon brings us money; and the missionary, it is he who taught us to ask for independence; the leaders who fought for independence were mission-educated. Do you know of any Belgian-created schools where those who suffered in recent events were trained for independence?"
>
> "All sorts of religious meetings are now permitted!"
>
> But, "henceforth no one will boycott the government. The Provincial Government has ordered that all gatherings of the political nature must be authorized". (Kivunda, October 29, 1960).

Once the office of secteur chiefship and the council, however heteroclite its composition, became a unit based on popular election, several new factors were introduced into the governmental structures otherwise largely inherited from the colonial era. First of all, the secteur chief became a more powerful, because popular, figure than his colonial predecessor had been.[1] His office became the point at which a majority of the peasant population came into contact with the larger government. The Territorial and Provincial levels of administrative hierarchy, inherited from the colony, remained just as incomprehensible a maze of legal conditions and paperwork as before. But in the secteur, where the chief presided over the court (at least until 1964), heard palavers, acted as chairman of the council assemblies, and occasionally, if conscientious, toured his constituent area of villages on foot, his very person came to represent "the authority". In the Kivunda region where the man who had won the first secteur chief election of 1960 managed to maintain his popularity through the second legislature beginning in 1965, a certain overtone of mystical qualification had begun to circulate on his behalf. By profession a teacher, and not prone to self-emulation, he nevertheless recalled incidents to this writer in which he had been considered a "healer", ngunza, for effectively arbitrating disputes the side-effects of which were physical illness attributed to witchcraft. Others confided to the writer that he probably possessed the kundu powers, i.e., positive witchcraft, of certain historic chiefs.

A second change in the character of the secteur or commune following independence became evident in the vertical relationship with higher governmental bureaucracy. ABAKO party officers, under the increasing control of the provincial governor, made full use of the colonial administrative machinery to bring into being single party dominated government. The way in which this manifested itself at the secteur level was in the minimization of decision-making and policy influencing of the secteur level government, both among secteur chiefs and within the councils. The basic loyalty of local officials to ABAKO did not come into question until later; but a growing discontentment of the secteur chiefs with bureaucratic curtailment became noticeable by 1962. Because of their identification with the rural masses, the secteur chiefs often presented the Territorial and Provincial bureaucrats and politicians with sharp admonitions over lagging programs and inadequate salaries at lower levels. Often salaries for the chiefs did not come through until six months or a year in retards. A constant source of discontent on the part of the secteur chiefs was that the Territorial Council, which in theory would have brought together the various secteur chiefs periodically for an exchange of views and a unified voice before the Territorial Administrator, was convened only once in 1961, and apparently purposefully squelched subsequently. It became a breach of Territorial authority for the secteur chiefs to assemble anywhere. In one "illegal" meeting the secteur chiefs of Kivunda, Balari, and Kimbanza met to plan their strategy in this regard.

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[1] The degree to which a secteur chief, or later, the communal mayor, became an outstanding figure with the mystical qualifications described here, depended of course on personal factors. MacGaffey's experience in the area of Songololo across the Congo river to the south manifested an equally unpopular communal head, one whose relations with his constituency were singularly bad (personal communications).

> The difficulty in maintaining bridges was discussed. The Kivunda chief had written the Territory requesting the use of its truck to transport planks, but no response was forthcoming.
>
> Recognizing that the chef de secteur's office was becoming increasingly that of administrative servant of higher government, it was decided to ask for a revision of the family allocation, on which the terms had remained essentially that of the colonial government, i.e., that the secteur chiefship constituted a customary authority with honor, instead of an employee with familial considerations. One of the three thought that the secteur chief should automatically rise to the highest grade in the benefit scale so as not to lose respect before the population. As elected official, but willing to fulfill his bureaucratic duties, he is not merely a functionary either. Another expressed the general complaint that although the secteur carried out orders from the highest echelons of government,

> and belonged to the same overall structures as the Territory, the Province, and the Nation, the secteur is the most disrespected entity of all, and is even termed "another government" or a "petit governement." (Kivunda, December 28, 1961).

The reaction of the District Commissioner (an office abolished in 1963, then recreated in 1966) and the Territorial Administrator to the minutes of this meeting was negative. The most serious objection to policy initiative of the secteur level was that it undercut the authority of the "bloc administratif." At one point the Territorial Administrator defined the purpose of the secteur council in the following terms: "son devoir est d'aider la population a se conformer aux décisions prises par l'autorité," or, in commenting on the decisions drawn by the council, "le conseil n'a pas encore acquit suffisament de maturité pour faire des décisions importants ..." At another time the Territorial Office warned the secteur chiefs concerning disrespect for their bureaucratic superiors: "J'ai l'honneur de vous conseiller d'avoir de bonnes reflexions et d'écrire des lettres vetues du respect aux Autorites superieurs, telles que M. l'Administrateur de Territoire, M. le Commissaire de District qui sont nos superieurs. Il ne faut pas vous vous foisser si l'autorité vous fait des rémarques ..."

The issue of contention between the secteur and its bureaucratic superiors hinged mainly on the source of revenue for the secteur. Nearly 60 per cent of the secteur tax income was forwarded to higher government. In theory financially autonomous, or benefitting only sporadically from governmental programs, the secteur was free, contingent on higher approval, to levy any tax it saw fit. At one point in 1962 the Kivunda secteur conceived of the idea of installing a gas pump for the benefit of merchants, and for a source of tax. But the Territorial Government declined to approve the project on the grounds that the government should not engage in commerce at any level. It could raise the taxes elsewhere. In 1963 a supplementary 80 francs was added to the head tax for the purpose of paying road repairmen, and the secteur was able to increase its revenue by 69,000 francs for the year. The council agreed that, although not publicized, the tax could become permanent and the secteur could keep the roads fit without imposing work on everyone. But the road tax was deemed illegal, after the fact, by the Territorial authorities and the secteur was ordered to reimburse it person by person, which it refused to do, arguing that it would be more sensible merely to lower next year's taxes proportionately. Simultaneously the secteur received the notice to increase the conventional head tax for the following year. In view of all these conditions, the less imaginative secteur governments gradually were turned into a more or less repressive branch of higher government, while those with more resilience became increasingly convinced that, as one secteur chief put it bluntly, "the authorities are crazy; one thinks up a conceivable tax and it is illegal. Yet nothing ever comes from above in the form of improvement; how are we to improve the local condition at all?"

A third factor worth considering in the post-colonial secteur is the growing politicization of relations between various regional, professional, and status groups. This development of course paralleled the sharp increase in all political activities elsewhere in Congolese society. Competition for elected office and for controlling stakes in the new government resulted in a rising self-consciousness within the context of whatever organization or group an individual might find himself, a process that more than ever brought out the incongruities of representation within the secteur, for example. Significant in this regard was the renaissance of the groupement as a political unit. Groupement segments that had formerly, as chefferies, been incorporated into other units either in 1933 or 1944, now demanded "independence". The groupement of Nsundi-Lutete (see fig. 33), as already mentioned, withdrew from Massangi and discovered a hereditary chiefship in the Nsundi line worthy of groupement recognition. The region of Kimpungu (see also fig. 33) similarly demanded separate groupement status.

> Ever since 1944 when the governmental arrete 655/337/AIMO was made and the other chefferies of Kivunda secteur given the groupement mandate, Kimpungu has not had its own chief to represent them on a traditional (customary) basis. One of the councillors of the region investigated the matter in 1963 before a gathering of the people. He gave him the following history. Mawanda was the first chief, from Ntombula village. Mpata, from Yanga village, the second. Mamba-Nimunseke, an old and incompetent man, was the third. Since the Yanga customary chefferie fell across the 1944 secteur boundaries, it was divided and the north half placed under the jurisdiction of Massangi. In 1955 the Territorial Administrator sent a mission into the area to reelect new chiefs of groupements, but somehow the Yanga-North area didn't hear about the election, and consequently did not get around to proposing a chief. Now, in 1963 a "brother" of Mawanda, the first chefferie chief, was elected to fill the office of groupement chief. N. was elected 36 to 4, "not counting the votes of the women who were for him anyway".

The reassertion of these two chefferies which "refused to die", as someone has put it, represents not so much the perpetuity of the chiefships, itself of relatively recent origin, but an increasing political regionalism the perpetrators of which had merely seized upon the chiefship as a symbol of their identity.

As a consequence of such small-scale autonomy, many functions of the secteur now required readjustment so as to be based on equal regional representation. This became evident in the way the choice of judges in the recomposition of the secteur court was handled in 1962. It had been thought that the court could be composed of three full-time judges plus the secteur chief chairman in order to accommodate the growing number of cases. This alternative was discarded, however, because it did not satisfy the demand for equal representation. Finally it was decided, in council, that the court would be comprised of six part-time judges, one from each of the groupements. Later, in 1965, the equal representation of regions again became an issue when judges' and contestants' differential distance from Kivunda was introduced as a problem. In addition to the per-case salaries, the judges coming from outlying villages were now given a distance allowance. But the essential problem of regionalism was solved only when the court took to holding its sessions at the various groupement headquarters, i.e., the villages of their chiefs.

For the first time in many years the religious conflict between Protestants, inhabiting the northwestern region of the commune around Nsundi-Lutete, and the southeastern region centered at the Catholic Mission of Mangembo, an issue that had once way back in 1927 resulted in a full-scale religious feud, now reappeared with the lines of opposition corresponding to the Massangi-Kimata groupement axes respectively (see fig. 7). In each region a capable well-educated man had been presented in 1964 for the candidacy to the office of communal mayor, the Massangi and Protestant area candidate being the incumbent secteur chief, and his opponent, Catholic, from Kimata, the close paternal kinsman of a Provincial deputy.

The many layers of this conflict need not be gone into here, but the conclusion of the affair is noteworthy. The incumbent secteur chief won the mayoral elections in 1964, and his opponent from Kimata became a council member. Nothing immediate might have come of this affair had the

Provincial deputy who had backed the Kimata candidate for mayor not also lost his position in the 1965 national elections. Shortly following the national election the defeated mayoral candidate, now council member, circulated two letters, one in Kikongo, the other in French, and signed by a majority of the council members, accusing the Kivunda mayor of duplicity and "sabotage" of the national election where he had been in charge. The Kikongo letter was passed about locally,[1] and the French letter sent to all important levels of the governmental hierarchy including the national Ministry of Justice.

The particular charges, and their accuracy or inaccuracy, need not concern us here, except that we may note their distinctly personal and political character. It is rather the action of the mayor within the context of public office, and the at least temporary resolution of the conflict, which is of greatest interest. Considering the letter a threat to his own position and to the solidarity of the commune, the mayor called an open meeting in which the council could choose which of the two contestants would continue as mayor. This was to be a palaver conducted along "traditional" lines, said the mayor, since the administrative guidelines had no principles governing such situation. After introducing his own defense, the mayor sat back to await the group's reaction.

> There came a time in the discussion when everything appeared to have been said; the gathering was waiting for one or the other contesting sides to take a step toward reconciliation. One of the

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[1] The last, and hopefully, least, of a dozen charges against the mayor was that "he had hid a white man--this writer--in his house," for which the slandered person received an infinitesimal share of the "wine of resolution" in the form of 25 francs "dry wine", indicative of the irrelevance of the charge to the major issue.

councillors stood and repeated the general jist of the untruths perpetrated by the Kimata party, but his speech was of a conciliatory tone in that he tried to incorporate the entire assembly with bikumu, question and response statements, following every sentence. He noted that the Kimata partisans responded only weakly, and emphasized how without accord the people could never "build the land." He attacked the politicians who sow discord.

The Kimata party withdrew to confer secretly, but then on reentering the circle one of them--not the accused--spoke before the council, in sum accepting the accusation as well as the wrong. But he requested the mayor to give them his initial reply in writing, for, as the dictum goes "words disappear, letters stay!"

The mayor declined, noting that he had said all he intended to say, and that since they had taken the original initiative to open the issue, he did not feel they should have recourse to another round of letters. He wanted to resolve the affair "here and now". He repeated that if the assembly wanted to choose another mayor, this was the time.

The Kimata party withdrew again to confer, and returned to give the mayor full mandate as chief, saying that he was their only mayor; but they would like to have an explanation of a few things. The provincial deputy was mentioned. Why were his pictures not up on the first day above the ballot box? Another deputy candidate of the council, whose name had been rejected entirely by the single-party ABAKO ticket list makers, suggested that the Kimata candidate should be happy to have gotten his candidacy in at all.

Finally the communal council, all except the contestant from Kimata, withdrew to confer. They returned with a judgment: the author of the letters, the mayor's opponent, was being fined 3000 francs for libel, and was given five days to withdraw his charges. Failing in this, his case would be introduced to the government. Also, he was asked to turn in his membership to ABAKO, since a "politician" had no place in the council. The latter part of the judgment was shelved after another round of secret conferring by each side.

It was evident that the mayor was attempting to settle the issue in a customary manner, i.e., he was trying to reach a concensus agreement with all factions in the end succumbing to voluntary accord. The attending Territorial Agent made this clear when he said that although he was just a government functionary, a representative at the communal level of higher authorities, insofar as he was concerned, this "espece de jugement coutumier" would serve in lieu of direct governmental action.

Eventually the fine was lowered to 2500 francs after yet another round of secret conferring of each party--the council and the Kimata partisans. Finally the council member who had begun the reconciliation talks rose and led the assembly in a short traditional unification song often sung in any settlement, for example, of bride price, at that point when the last issue falls and full concensus has been achieved. The council accepted the money from the Kimata party, and

> withdrew to distribute it to all the various parties slandered in the letter in the form of "drinking money", or "dry" wine, since no real, or "wet" wine was available.

Given the inefficiency of the government bureaucracy, the Kimata contestant's letters did not reach the higher echelons before the national Ministry of Justice asked the Territorial Offices to call both parties to Luozi for a hearing. The same defense and counter-defense heard before the traditional assembly was repeated. But the administrators could not reach a decision, thus confirming the mayor's earlier belief that such matters could be concluded only in the traditional manner. Before a higher administrative office could take up the issue, the Kimata contestant suffered a heart attack and was confined to a hospital bed for many months. But even more significant, before the higher hearing could be made, national governments had changed, and the affair probably fizzled out in the obscurity of bureaucratic compartments. Locally, at least for the moment, the two sides were reconciled.

The significant point in the reconciliation of the Kivunda mayor and his council-member opponent is that the idiom of traditional conflict resolution was brought into the commune and applied with seeming effectiveness. Not only is this indicative of the tenacity of the traditional political culture, it brings out in clear profile the radical transformation of the colonial secteur as a predominately bureaucratic relay-structure of higher orders into a governmental institution capable of dealing with decision making and conflict resolution in a climate of rising politicization of low-level regionalism, groupement entities, and religious cleavages.

Conflict Resolution in the Men's Hut Idiom

The reconciliation of the mayor to his opponent, although reflecting traditional forms of evaluation, persuasion, and decision by concensus, did not embody a number of additional conciliation mechanisms such as the oath, the intervention of mystical forces, or the arbitration by a religious specialist. These mechanisms were used by ABAKO party heads in 1963 to reconcile the growing number of factions within the Kongo population. To open the Thysville party congress of that year the collective ancestors were ceremoniously invoked by the circle around a demjon of nsaamba palm wine to put to an end the strife between the "true sons of Ne-Kongo", founder of the Kongo kingdom in the fourteenth century (Etoile du Congo, September 27, 1963). Similarly, in 1965, when the Kongo Central Provincial Assembly was unable to reach a two-thirds majority decision on the choice of governments, the two rival factions, incumbent Governor Moanda's ABAKO, and Zola's rival ABAKO-Mwinda, after thirty days in session and thirteen roll-calls a Manianga prophet was brought in to arbitrate differences. Ultimately Moanda achieved a near concensus majority of support in the Assembly.

The pattern of political integration that emerges from the Kivunda reconciliation, the 1963 ABAKO Congress, and the 1965 Provincial Assembly choice of governor, can be seen most often, and in its most elaborate form, in the settlement of palavers of all kinds at the level of the men's hut, what the Kivunda Territorial Agent spoke of as "a species of customary judgment". The men's hut, as described initially in this chapter, is normally the gathering place of micro-polities at the hamlet level. But the hut is also the scene of major debates between such polities. In a setting that is perhaps more parochial and quaint than the commune or the Provincial Assembly, can however be found the full-flowered combination of all that the Kongo tradition has to offer along the lines of rhetoric, persuasion, concession, honorable defeat, or victory. In the men's hut idiom of conflict resolution both the lines of opposition and the matrix of conciliation are clear-cut. Relations are always political, and as in the market courts of earlier times, there are no ultimate temporal authorities to which appeal may be made. In the context of many inter-lineage affairs, Manianga society is just as segmentary, i.e., lacking ultimate sovereign authorities, as it was eighty years ago. Those affairs handled outside of the communal court in the setting of the men's hut inevitably bring together social units that are both sovereignties in their own right. The issues are thus not specific, but total, whence the genius of their success.

Rather than to describe the wide variety of "customary" adjudications that remain outside of the jurisdiction of the communal courts, it is fitting to describe at length one such judgment of the hut that occurred in 1965 in the environs of Kisiasia and involved a many-layered conflict over land, witchcraft, clientage, disease, and breach of contract, in other words, a total confrontation of two descent groups.

> Buyala village, some twenty minutes on foot from Kisiasia, was the scene of a gathering of over 500 persons one Sunday in December, 1965. For many days the members of the Kimbanga clan section of Buyala and the Kikwimba clan section of Nseke-Mbanza, part of whom had been former clients of the Kimbanga, had prepared the details, e.g., the food, gifts, and animals, for the meeting of reconciliation. Although the exact terms of the settlement had yet to be arranged, and some observers felt that the lingering hostility between the two parties might jeopardize chances of a full reconciliation, both parties had their own pressing reasons for concluding the affair. One wisened elderly man of Kimbedi euphemized the conflict, and the reason for the gathering, with "bantu beti kuluka, beti kwenda ku

makulu mau," people are growing up, and moving on to their cemeteries, i.e., dying, calling forth the image of the pressures and resistances within the age-dynamic circle of the lineage.

A segment of the Kikwimba had been in clientage to the Kimbanga of Buyala for several generations. Around 1959, however, relations had become strained between the two groups as the Kimbanga lost several prominent consanguinal women in death. Only one adult female remained. Simultaneously the Kikwimba had prospered and grown in number. Closely intermarried, the danger of a total break in relations between the two groups reached a critical point when the Kimbanga lineage headman expelled the Kikwimba and another client group from Buyala, in his anger refusing to accept the "pig of ransom" from them in exchange for the patrons' blessing. Indignant at having been accused of witchcraft by the Kimbanga, the Kikwimba subsequently placed a curse upon the fields from which they had been expelled, and upon the remaining women of the Kimbanga.

The unresolved, mutually antagonistic state of affairs persisted until early in 1965 when an adult male member of the Kikwimba, a modern elite working as head agent of the railway station in Pointe Noire, Congo-Brazzaville, began to waste away from an incurable dyssentery. In October he returned to his home village to seek relief or to die. Aware of the lingering conflict of the two descent groups, he wrote to the headman of his patron lineage imploring him to grant the Kikwimba their honorable freedom, and to extend to them his blessing as a proper "father" should. "We are dying," he wrote, "and must do something soon. I dreamt I was 'doing the Munkukusa'[1] with the Kimbanga and accompanied my Kimbanga "father", deacon of the Buyala church (who is widely reputed to be a witch "loaned to the church") to the cemetery. The deacon asked me to identify the various tombs and to explain why so and so had died" (implying they had died of witchcraft, and that the deacon could also kill his mwana mbuta if he so desired). A., the diseased individual, used this in his letter to K., the Kimbanga lineage headman, to urge the two groups to reconcile.

After several preliminary rounds of negotiations by intermediary kinsmen the Kimbanga decided to grant the paternal blessing on the condition that the Kikwimba would pay the pig of ransom and retract the curse. The date of the public meeting was set, and Marie Kukunda the prophetess of Kikungu was notified she should come to arbitrate the affair. The ailing A., was brought by vehicle to Buyala two days prior to the eventful Sunday. D., a widely-known Lemba priest, member of another section of the Kikwimba, led the

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[1] In this purificatory rite popular from 1951 to 1953 the bana bambuta, "children", would follow one of their mase, "fathers", to the latter's cemetery to fetch grave earth, symbolic of the paternal ancestors, back into the settlement of the living, to represent the unified strength and integrity of the lineage in the face of deliterious internecine conflict.

Kikwimba group; K., the lineage headman of the Kimbanga represented his side. A large lukongolo circle assembled adjoining the Kimbanga men's hut centrally located in Buyala. Throughout the morning each side made numerous ku neenga secretive conferals to plan their strategy and to count the quantity of wine, animals, etc., each would offer. When the prophetess arrived, it was decided to first hold a worship service in the village church to resolve the affair in kinzambi, (literally, in a Godly manner), before resolving it in fu kia nsi, the customary way.

The service was typical until the prophetess Marie arose and read from Isaiah 2:1-5, emphasizing the passages most appropriate, which transliterated from the Kikongo Fioti text might read " . . . the Eternal's hill shall rise, towering over every hill, and higher than the heights. To it shall all the makanda (nations, but also lineages) stream . . . For from Zion shall come forth nsiku (instruction, but particularly laws) of Yave . . . He will decide the disputes of the makanda and settle the cases of the makanda . . ." The prophetess then spoke, dwelling long on "what kind of hill (mongo) is this? It is a "mongo wangitukulu, mongo waunene, mongo wansisi!" a hill of wonder, of great size, of awe. Many lineages will live there in peace. The mongo is Jesus, who this day has descended (a common strain in Kongo messianic thinking) upon Buyala (which also happens to be perched atop a hill).

The prophetess used her bikumu (call and response passages) skillfully before an attentive audience. She spoke about the harm of hidden thoughts, secret intentions, and intrigues in human affairs. Although witchcraft may have been involved in the present conflict, she felt that A.'s illness lay in his own attitude and indulgent habits. Concluding her thoughts with a reiteration of the hill of Jesus, and the end times, she then prayed, and provoked immediate and wide-spread ecstatic trembling throughout the crowd. Then she sent out everyone except the representatives of the two opposing lineages, A. the sick man, and the anthropologist, and began to examine the two groups.

Q: Where did he pick up his illness?
A: Pointe Noire.
Q: Does he drink much?
A: (Silence.)
Q: Who in your lineage (Kikwimba) has given birth to twins? Or is there someone in the Kimbanga line with twins? Is there a Nzuzi in one of the two groups? (closing her eyes and searching).
A: Yes, in Kimbanga.
Q: Did not the ill man strike Nzuzi once when he was here on vacation?
A: (Silent assent.)

The prophetess announced then that two persons from his own lineage had "poisoned" the ill man. This provoked immediate astonishment by all present. She placed the root of the difficulty in his own descent group, identifying two women, one living, one dead, as the guilty, and fig 34

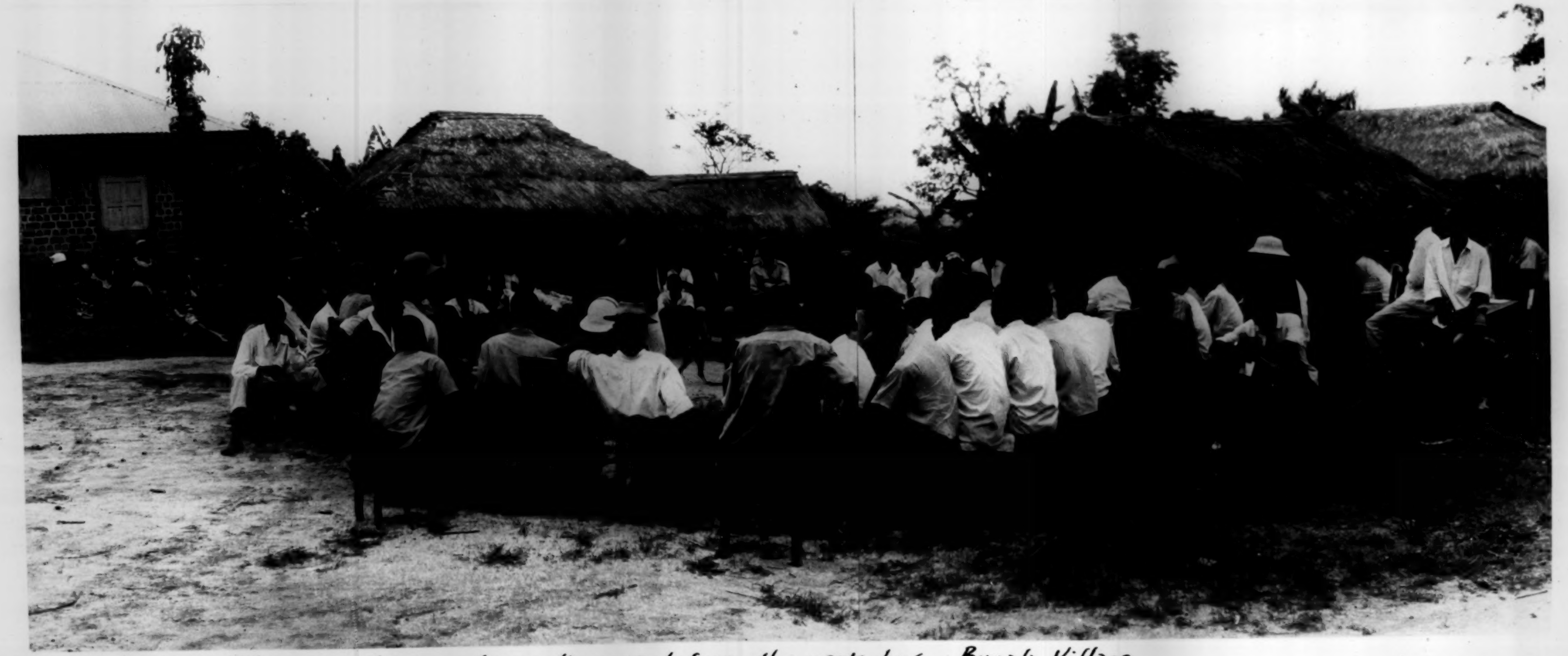

Fig. 34.— The reconciliation of two lineages before the men's hut, Buyala Village

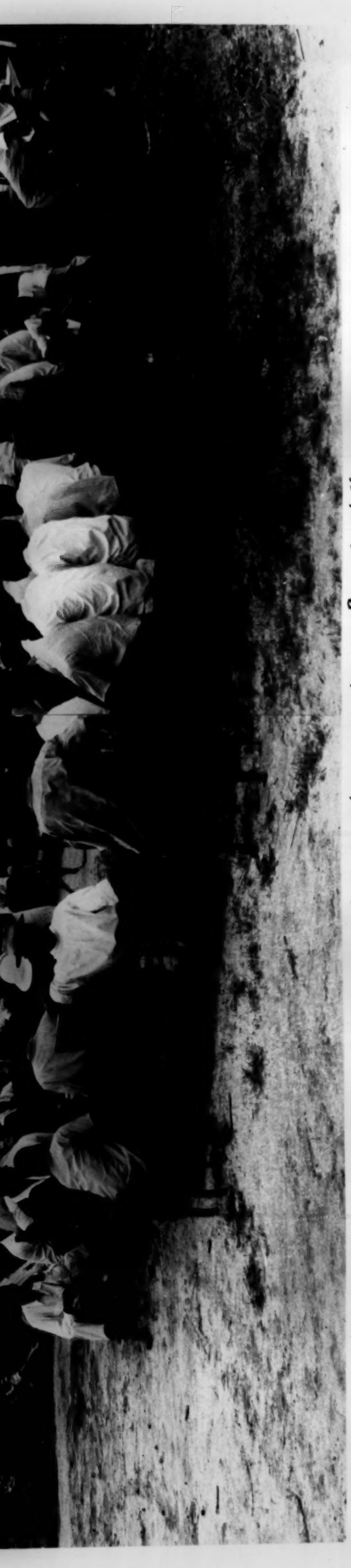

Fig. 34.- The reconciliation of two lineages before the men's hut, Buyala Village

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[2] The kodia snail shell, a pointed spira
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asked for the Kikwimba to identify them.[1] The prophetess seemed to identify evil fetishes, which she accused the ill A. of having, along with secret throughts he had harbored. Denying the fetishes, he however did admit to secret thoughts and sins in seclusion, including the letter to K. of the Kimbanga, which was now taken out and read aloud. After several more confessions by both A. and the Kimbanga headman, the prophetess blessed them both, and they arose and walked outside.

Meanwhile the hut circle had reconvened to deliberate following the canons of the custom (see fig. 34). (The extent to which what occurred within the church is *not* customary depends on how the role of prophetess is interpreted. Her tactics and her symbolism are traceable in traditional ideas.) K. the Kimbanga lineage head, donned his palm fibre hat and a string of four large *kodia* shells.[2] Forming a circle, the seated men on one side were predominately allies of the Kikwimba, on the other of the Kimbanga.

Once again the terms of settlement were announced by each side. Kimbanga, speaking through an intermediary, demanded that the Kikwimba ask pardon and withdraw the curse upon the land, before it would extend the paternal blessing. The Kikwimba nzonzi, speaking for D. the lineage head, implored the blessing and withdrew the curse by pronouncing to the Kimbanga "may you bear fruit and multiply." Throughout the several-hours-long session each party withdrew numerous times to confer in private. Each was represented before the other by a speaker, thereby achieving a certain measure of objectivity. Only after it became apparent that a concensus would be reached were the heads of the opposing parties allowed to speak. D., the eloquent Lemba priest, rose and led a song:

Ma me, ey ya ye	. . .
Ni bo be, nsaka!	the thing for which we wait! (i.e., accord)

He continued. "If they (third person plural allusion to own group) could curse, now they could forgive"! After innumerable bikumu to tie the separated groups together by insistent unified refrain, D. presented two demjons of wine, *malavu* *manlemvo*, the wine of forgiveness. This was the beginning. Kimbanga rejected this measure as inadequate, a matter of course thing expected of everyone. The Kikwimba deliberated once more and quickly brought out five more demjons. This the Kimbanga accepted "because its getting late in the afternoon, otherwise we'd ask for more . . ." At last K. pronounced the paternal blessing, telling the Kikwimba they could go in peace. "Kodia kulumukidi"[1] was the dictum he chose to summarize the events of the day, meaning the affair is over, may the ill be healed. The Kikwimba finally extend a lavish blessing upon the Kimbanga, and A.'s brother fires a salvo, shakes hands with him, and opens a song of the Manianga prophets:

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[1] The presence of twins, two ancestresses (one living, one dead), suggests that the categories of Kongo cosmology are regulating the interrogation.

[2] The *kodia* snail shell, a pointed spiral-shape, is a traditional container for a medicinal treatment of stomach ailments. A mixture of white *lupemba* clay, red *tukula*, palm wine, and *nsaku-nsaku* leaves are drunk from it by the patient. *Kodia* also represents authority, *luve*, and power, *lulendo*, thus an appropriate ensign for the ABAKO party. The Kimbanga headman is not an authorized healer, and probably, according to some present, wore it because of its connotations with ABAKO.

Mwelo wa zulu	The doors of heaven
Wena wa zibuka . . .	Are opened wide . . .

Even the Kimbanga deacon, reputedly a witch and a grave robber now too got into the act with a long and lavish prayer. But what may be considered the moral to the story came from a neutral person of the circle with the song

Ludimba mbembo ya yami	You pierced my words
Bu lutambanga ma ta,	When you fired your guns . . .
Kufula! . . .	

meaning thereby, "do more than just finish your affairs with your guns. Live up to your words". By nightfall the pig had been cooked, and all ate together generously.

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[1] Literally, the *kodia* has descended upon us. As symbol of authority it brings to an end the conflict. As symbol of healing, all inner tensions and secrets are appeased.

CHAPTER VIII

RESIDENCE, STATUS, AND ALLIANCE

Alliance as Politics

Alliance, understood in a broad sense, is closely linked with residence rules and individual or descent group status in Kongo-Manianga society. Residence practices, for example, vary from patrilocality to avunculocality, reflective of an individual's primary allegiance to his mother's brothers' or his father's corporate descent group, and, to mention yet a third alternative, his allegiance to the corporate group to which he may be attached by clientage. Correspondingly, an individual's marriage often is partly determined by over-riding corporate interests. A superior ranked patron lineage is interested in maintaining good relations both with other corporate lineage communities as well as in augmenting its own prestige through proper relations with inferior ranked client descent groups. Descent group ranking is a function of the inner organization of a community of several descent groups ranging from lineage fragments to corporate lineages the latter of which are dominant over the former. Variable marriage rules thus constitute one of the more important structural ingrediants of relations both between such communities of ranked descent groups as well as within a single community of this kind.

We can therefore look to alliance, i.e., the over-all relationship between exogamous descent groups, to determine how varying modes of authority coalesce with varying forms of marriage: obligatory, preferential, or simply, available. Alliance must be regarded as an expression dimension of the political culture of the society.

Substantial changes, nevertheless, have occurred in the apparent form of alliance relations in Manianga society in the past few decades. But these changes, it will be argued, reflect changing economic values more than changes in rules of marriage. The most significant apparent change has been the decline in patron-client marriages. But this transformation is itself a function of the declining institution of clientage as a method of gaining political prestige on the part of the superior lineage on the one hand, and as an effective method of gaining access to economic advantage, power, and protection on the part of status inferior individuals and descent group fragments, on the other hand. Because the colonial government did not actively legislate against the clientage system so much as it sought to erradicate certain outward side effects of the system such as polygny, it is instructive to analyze briefly some of the structural features of alliance in order to understand what factors have influenced the apparent contemporary developments.

In the Manianga where the corporate descent group is defined by matrilineal descent, alliance and/or marriage must be seen as a function of the endeavor of corporate authorities to maintain the integrity of their own groups. The basic problem facing corporate descent group authorities is that of restricting the divisive tendencies resulting from the sex-differentiated role distinction between descent, located in females, and authority and group placement, located in males. To recapitulate briefly, matrilineage males, whether brothers or mother's brothers, seek to maintain their authority over their female counterparts (or their sons), determining their marriage partners, or by at least channeling their marriage connections in the interest of corporate lineage group solidarity. The concern for corporate solidarity is reflected in the desire to have successive generations, born and raised under father's tutelage, return to their matrilineal or avunculocal settlement when they mature. There is always the danger that father's corporate group will undermine this matrilineal prerequisite; an individual's rights to even adult residence and access to land with his father's corporate matrilineage illustrates this in a very real sense. The main threat to corporate group solidarity comes from outside it in the person of the father and his group (Schneider 1962:21-22). But conversely, by this very same token reason, the authority of a corporate group lineage is enhanced by seeking clients and retainers in the persons of potential husbands for lineage females and wives for lineage men. The general picture that emerges from traditional Kongo-Manianga society is thus a group of corporately-organized brothers who extend land and women to their own sons.

Viewed from a broader perspective, the conflict first of all between principles of descent and authority (group placement), and secondly, the role conflict between matrilineage males as mother's brother and children's father, can both be subsumed in a more general, therefore more consequential conflict between (1) generalized exchange among corporate communities and (2) restricted exchange within an endogamous corporate community. The term corporate community, as used here, refers to the lineage as well as the larger hamlet community of a patron matrilineal descent group and its attached client descent groups. It is necessary to conceive of the patron-client dyad or series of dyads as a total unit. In terms of marriage theory, there is thus a dichotomy of principles: (1) marriage between two independent, distinct, and relatively equal "corporate communities" of this type; and, (2) marriage along endogamous lines between ranked descent groups within a single such corporate community. In terms of political theory a parallel dichotomy obtains in the distinction of alternative relationships between equally powerful groups on the one hand and isolation, self-sufficiency, and inner hierarchization of each community on the other hand.[1] Alternative egalitarian and hierarchized relations both within the lineage and within the broader hamlet community of several descent groups, as well as in the society at large, have been expressed classicly in such things as land access rights and the contestation of father's with mother's brother's corporate group interests. Both alternative emphases are in evidence as far back as Kongo history is in any way documented or remembered. It is interesting, however, that some periods have reflected a predominance of one emphasis over the other. Just how this vascillation from egalitarian to hierarchic modes of corporate structure occurs in various dimensions of the Kongo-Manianga society has already been broached in the study of the matrilineage estate, in the succession to office of lineage headman, in the migratory patterns of settlement units, and in the modern economic associations. The presence of these same factors in residence and alliance constitutes the focus of attention.

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[1] Two distinctive approaches to the analysis of corporate group structure and interrelationship have been taken by many anthropologists. The one approach devotes exclusive attention to alliance and exchange theory, the other emphasizes the total society. Levi-Strauss (1949), for example, tends to explain everything in terms of reciprocity and exchange. Incest prohibitions and exogamous rules are a function of the necessity for exchange, and therefore of exchange groups, as exclusion and inclusion creates distinct categories. Smith (1956), on the other hand, takes a broader view by making exchange, reciprocity, and alliance constituent elements of the general system of rights and obligations. Society is comprised of varying kinds of groups with distinctive governmental, religious, political, economic, and other functions. Segmentary lineages are an example, although other groups are seen along similar lines. The two approaches exemplified by Levi-Strauss and Smith are not necessarily conflicting. It seems, rather, that both are necessary for the present analysis, since in certain situations alliance and corporate group integrity operate in partially mutually-exclusive domains. Put otherwise, the hamlet unit frequently becomes a shadow entity beside the greater emphasis among individuals of their particular descent lines.

Historical Sketch of Alliance and Governmental Structure in Traditional North Kongo Society

The early records of the wider Kongo-speaking region dating from the fifteenth to the early twentieth century give the picture of a society with stratified social categories wherever political centralization occurs. This is true not only of the better-known kingdom located at Mbanza Kongo dia Ntotila (San Salvador in northern Angola) but of innumerable smaller kingdoms such as Loango, Kakongo, Ngoyo, Soyo, Vili, and most likely of even the smallest single-village chiefdoms such as those encountered widely in the late nineteenth century. This is not the place to give an account of these various kingdoms; but in order to see the general structure of marriage and alliance it is profitable to describe briefly a single one, that of Loango, to the north of the Congo river, which has been documented early to a greater extent than some of the others.

Andrew Battel, renegade English seaman, prisoner of Brazilian Indians, property of Portuguese merchants, and prisoner of Jaga war lords, finally emerged in the coastal area of Loango in the early seventeenth century. Loango was at that time a vassal state of the Kongo kingdom and had not been greatly influenced by Catholic missions or European merchants. It was ruled by a matrilineally related series of brothers or cousin princes who acceded to the throne after having successively held the regional governorship of Mani Kabonga, Mani Solongo, Mani Mbuku, and Mani Kai, the last of which was followed by the kingship (Battel 1814:331). A similar rule of succession to the kingship of the Kongo was in earlier years reserved for the governor of the northern Nsundi province, presumably in keeping with the fact that the original Kongo conquerants had originated from this region and it therefore was the least likely to revolt (Cuvelier 1931:203). The candidate to the throne in both Kongo and Loango was known by the title Mani Kai.

Little is known however, about the individual lists of kings of Loango; it seems that Battel's description refers to a sort of intradynastic succession principle. In the Kongo kingdom, more heteroclite in character, succession was from father to son as often as from brother to brother, suggesting that two competing lineages alternatively held office. Early writers on both Loango and Kongo see this process as inimical to successful monarchic rule. In Loango a provincial nobility usurps the kingship, and in the Kongo single lineage rule becomes alternative rule between two or more houses or lines.

What the early writers on Lower Congo kingship see as a faulty expression of European patrilineal monarchy must be regarded as a case of rulership of vascillating between several matrilineal descent groups, each claiming the sovereignty of an established throne for itself. Patrilateral succession amounted to a form of coup d'état within the persisting state structure, but with the relative power of a given noble matriline fluctuating according to particular and momentary political circumstances. This recalls more recent social structure in which inferior lines can take on superior status, and in which a dominant matrilineage for various reasons declines in power to the point where it is forced to pass off its own members as debt slaves.

Abbe Proyart (1814:579) gives us a good vignette of mid-eighteenth century Loango society after dependency upon the Kongo king had ended and the Loango kingdom itself had broken up into competing matrilineages. Noble males as the king himself, married polygynously with commoner or client women. Through sheer numbers such wives as well as their children provided political support and prestige. Males of the nobility often did not marry noble women because these latter were restricted by their brothers to a monogamous marriage with a client or at least to serial concubinage with a single man. Noble women were closely guarded since they were the mothers of potential rulers; it was to the benefit of their brothers or mother's brothers to restrict the number of princes. Noble women, including the queen mother, commonly had the right to choose their spouses, and in turn were themselves severely restricted and watched. Both could be executed for adultery.

A closer look at the role of the aristocratic female in early Kongo history clarifies the picture considerably. In regions south of the Congo river among the Mpangu (Ntandu) of the Kisantu area, the title of Ndona Nkento--of possible European etymological origin--was used to refer to the monogamously marrying female chiefess of a few principal lineages. She was charged with important ritual responsibilities in the ancestor cult and in arbitration (Van Wing (1949:111-13). From an earlier period it was related that one of the first wives of an early Christian Kongo king was called Ndona Elenora. Van Wing hypothesizes that the Ndona title and the institution of aristocratic women's monogamy is of early Christian influence, yet he notes that the few remaining Ndona women in early 20th Century Mpangu society are not the wives of "crowned chiefs."

A distinction needs to be drawn between the "queen mothers" called Mdona, matrilineally-related to the regent, and the more common title role mumbanda or mbanda, applied to the chief's or kin's principal wife. The monogamous marriage of noble lineage women and the queen mother, irregardless of the probable or improbable "Christian" origin of the title Ndona, would logically serve the highly desirable purpose of limiting the number of potential heirs to a matrilineally-defined seat of authority, whether this be in a kingdom such as Loango or at the level of a smaller chiefdom. Deleval (1912:147) notes that among the Kavati tribes of the eastern Mayombe north of the Congo river that the noblewomen did not marry at all most of the time but merely had a series of concubines or lovers until they tired of such an arrangement. Usually they lived out their later years alone in the home settlement of their own lineage. They would often take on one or two of the chiefly roles or, if especially winsome, serve in the capacity of tax collector for their brothers and uncles, visiting vassal chiefs and lineages to collect the mpaku tax. Those noblewomen who did marry were exchanged with their counterparts of other noble or equal status lineages to establish and solidarize an alliance relationship between high-ranking lineages of a wider region. The Kavati of the early twentieth century, just as the North Manianga, practiced the Lemba marriage with emphasis on horizontal political ties between settlements. In the Lemba marriage the Lemba priest became allied to his principal wife, his mumbanda Lemba, by an especially strict set of moral codes. It appears, however, that among the Kavati where chiefship was emphasized that the Lemba did not play the prominent governmental role it had in the North Manianga.

From these sources of varied reliability there emerges a unified picture nonetheless of the dichotomy between perpetuation of matrilineally-defined aristocratic line and alliance between high ranked, but equal status, lineages, thereby contrasting the social structural model of the isolated, powerful aristocratic kingdom or chiefdom in which both males and females of the ruling lineage marry slaves or commoners and the model of the political entity which is obliged to, or interested in, strong alliance relations with other similar groups. The former type emphasizes continuity between consanguinals of the matriline whereas the latter at least implicitly allows for emphasis on patrilateral relationships. For the sake of illustration one may place the Loango kingdom of the seventeenth century at the extreme end of a continuum, the Kavati of Mayombe next, and the early twentieth century Manianga at the opposite extreme insofar as marriage forms, political structure, and modes of authority are concerned.

In Loango (seventeenth century) both males and females of the noble matriline married into client or slave lines. The males were the effective rulers; they were prolific polygynists (one writer, probably guessing, estimated the king's harem to have contained several thousand women); their sisters, possessing certain ritual functions and undoubtedly playing some political influence in state affairs, married monogamously from among the commoners, and were closely controlled. This marriage policy, along with the effective rotating system of accession to the throne whereby matrilineal kinsmen would hold consecutive ranked governorships leading to kingship, made Loango one of the most stable of small kingdoms of the Lower Congo. In time here too, however, the highly organized centralization of the state broke down; by the end of the eighteenth century Proyart (1814:580) reported revolts of one or the other province against the throne and fragmentation of the leading lineage into contesting houses.

In the Kavati group of the eastern part of the Mayombe (late nineteenth and early twentieth century) political structure was probably considerably more fragmented than in Loango of earlier times. Chiefdoms were localized in village settlements and a clear hierarchic distinction between freemen and clients or slaves remained. Here there was some woman exchange between neighboring noble lineages (Deleval states that this did not involve a bride price but was done as a matter of solidarizing relations; the absence of bride price is puzzling and questionable, but hard to verify either way) although often noblewomen did not marry, taking instead a male concubine. Although authority rested with the men, noblewomen sometimes took on chiefly roles. The office of crowned chief had become extinct but a few chiefs remained with the recognized authority to inflict the death sentence. The Lemba association in the Kavati society was restricted to sacralizing alliances and had few direct political functions. It is possible that the early twentieth century Kavati chiefdoms had already come under the colonial rule and received the protection awarded the chefferie. This would account for the impression conveyed of a moderately centralized political system.

The North Manianga society (ca. 1900), at the extreme end of our continuum from historic Loango, can be characterized by its segmentary structure with rather closely-settled communities of hierarchically-ordered lineages with the dominant lineage extending land and women to its client males. These clients were either descent clients stemming from seizure in feuds or hostages against debt payment by their kinsmen. A number were dispossessed individuals without any clanic affiliation. But most belonged to neighboring freeman lineages, having been handed to their present lords as debt payments, committed to clientage as undesirables by their mothers' brothers, or captured in raids and feuds. The dominant lineage of freemen married heavily into its clientage, particularly during the first few generations of the latter's dependence. Men of wealthy lineages would have as many as five to ten wives, and the children of bond client origin constituted political supporters if they were well cared for, but undue trouble if not properly patronized. In order to assure plentiful progeny in the dominant lineage, its consanguinal women were generally married to client men; thus these female members of the ruling lineage of a settlement tended to remain at home throughout their lives. Unlike the Kavati of the Mayombe where noblewomen did not generally marry, here an attempt was made to marry them advantageously; often elderly women of a dominant lineage would have three and four consecutive husbands throughout their life. Great attention was however also given to maintaining reciprocal alliance relations with two, three, or four neighboring dominant lineages in spite of the tendency for single communities of patron and client descent lines to become an isolated political entity. Such alliances between two free lineages involved both freemen and women as well as clients; marriage patterns tended to be strongly determined by relative descent group rank, as will become evident below in this chapter.

Alliance bonds between village settlements were buttressed by the powerful Lemba association that comprised about five to ten percent of the adult male population drawn from among the leading elements of both the free and the client lineages on condition that they or their patrons could pay the prohibitively high initiation dues of four or five pigs, numerous chickens and other gifts. Similarly to the Kvati region, here too the mumbanda-Lemba, principal wife of the Lemba priest, was highly respected. The Lemba marriage between them constituted the ideal marriage. The priest's vows governing the internal make-up of the Lemba association were complemented by those vis-à-vis the mumbanda, so as to regulate the household affairs of the Lemba couple and solidarize the alliance between their respective lineages.

Comparison of the seventeenth century Loango kingdom, the late nineteenth century Kavati region of the Mayombe, and the early twentieth century Northern Manianga region points up certain variations on the common themes of (1) the "matrilineal problem" of sex-differentiated roles of authority and group placement as against descent, (2) the character of descent group competition and hierarchization, and (3) the general vertical or horizontal political integration of a segmentary lineage system. It has been impossible to attribute the fluctuation of forms in the three historic cases from Loango, Kavati, and the Manianga to exact causal sources due to the inadequacy of the source material. I have merely sought, in the above, to illustrate how in a common society with homogeneous values, various patterns of the political regime and of alliance could exist. In order to see the fine lines of the relationship of alliance to political conditions, it is necessary to turn to the mechanisms of exchange, inheritance, and the like which combine economic and social values.

Aesthetics and Ethics, the Etiquette of Kongo Exchange

Wittgenstein's remark on the homologous character of aesthetics and ethics in human society provides a suitable perspective in which to frame a discussion of the rules of exchange in Kongo society (Leach 1964:12). This holds true because of the integral place of property transfer and gift exchange in all aspects of social relations. In a very similar social context Gluckman (1965:170) has noted that in Barotse jurisprudence the right to ownership covers claims on other individuals, their property and services. But starting at the other end, with rights against other persons, rights over property must equally be included.

In the words of Henry Maine, the rules of the Law of Persons and the Law of Things are inextricably mixed together (Gluckman 1965:170).

In Chapter VI I examined the social character of land tenure. Here I examine the various ideas and institutions governing the relations established by alliance. A consideration of several concepts of contract exchange serve as a suitable introduction to this side of a holistic system in which social rights and obligations and economic credits and debits are integrally united.

Kanga denotes to tie, to bind, as when one ties something up in a package. However it also refers to a pact between two persons; thus to kanga makangu is to create an alliance, or to be affianced with another. An n'kangu is a subject, and one may speak of nzo zami n'kangu, the houses for my subjects, or the houses in which my progeges live. By this same token one mode of witchcraft is conceived of as "tying up" a passage or channel of communication. A woman's sterility may be caused by someone who has kanga divuumu, "tied up" or choked her womb.

Similarly, binda denotes to enlace or to ensnare; to be bindama is to be "tied up", attached by liaison, pact, or a debt contract, an obligation, or to lack the wherewithall to meet payment. The mbinda rooster is a symbolic gift presented to the father of a bride by the groom's kinsmen during the marriage rites to signify that any shortcomings in the bride payment made evident by future difficulties on the part of the bride will be honored by the groom and his kinsmen. The mbinda is a form of promisory note, a blank check, so to speak, giving credit potential for any and all eventualities that may arise.

The implications of these concepts of contract are that a close identity obtains between tangible and intangible elements of an individual's make-up. Health, riches, and prosperity on the one hand, and kinsmen to whom one is responsible for these same benefits, are both involved. It is entirely possible to speak of zingu kiansuumba, a "bought life", or mavimpi mansuumba, "bought health". These latter are of course extreme cases of possession, but they demonstrate the wide range of rights, from total to partial or specific, that may exist between persons. Manianga society reflects the full gamut of relationship modes between what Maine dichotomized as jus in personam, the right to expect certain actions and attitudes of a person, to jus in rem, the right to determine another person's very being.

The reciprocal word funda, denoting the obligation to make amends for a tort, or to reimburse a debt, as well as the right to demand restitution of a debt, or to lodge a plaint before judiciary authority, further illustrates the wide-reaching character of property conveyance in social relations. The plaintiff is called the mfundi, the defendant the fundulu; and mafundu is the object (cloth, wine, meat, or money) given to meet alliance obligations in mortuary and marriage ceremonies. By analogy, to "funda n'kanu a Nzambi" is to lament before God the death of a close relative or friend. The broad concept of mfundusulu, judgment, connotes the coming to terms with all outstanding obligations, or the regulation of one's affairs.

The Kongo etiquette system of the "cup", the "chicken", and the "pig", mbungu, nsusu, and ngulu, respectively, provides the terms of property exchange for the multitude of particular circumstances in which an individual might find himself. Etiquette and ethics of social

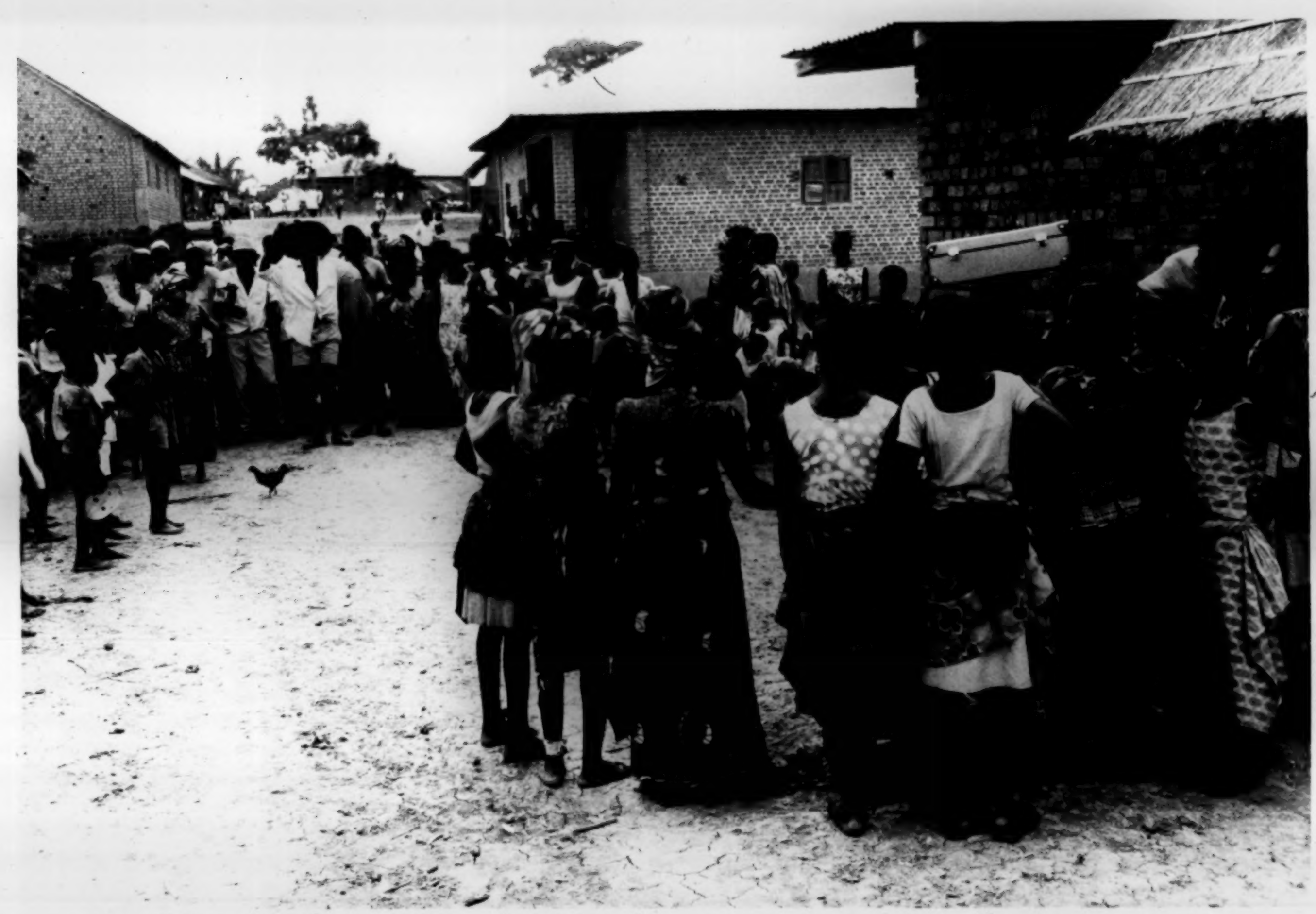

Fig. 35.— Youths parading bride and groom at opening of marriage rites

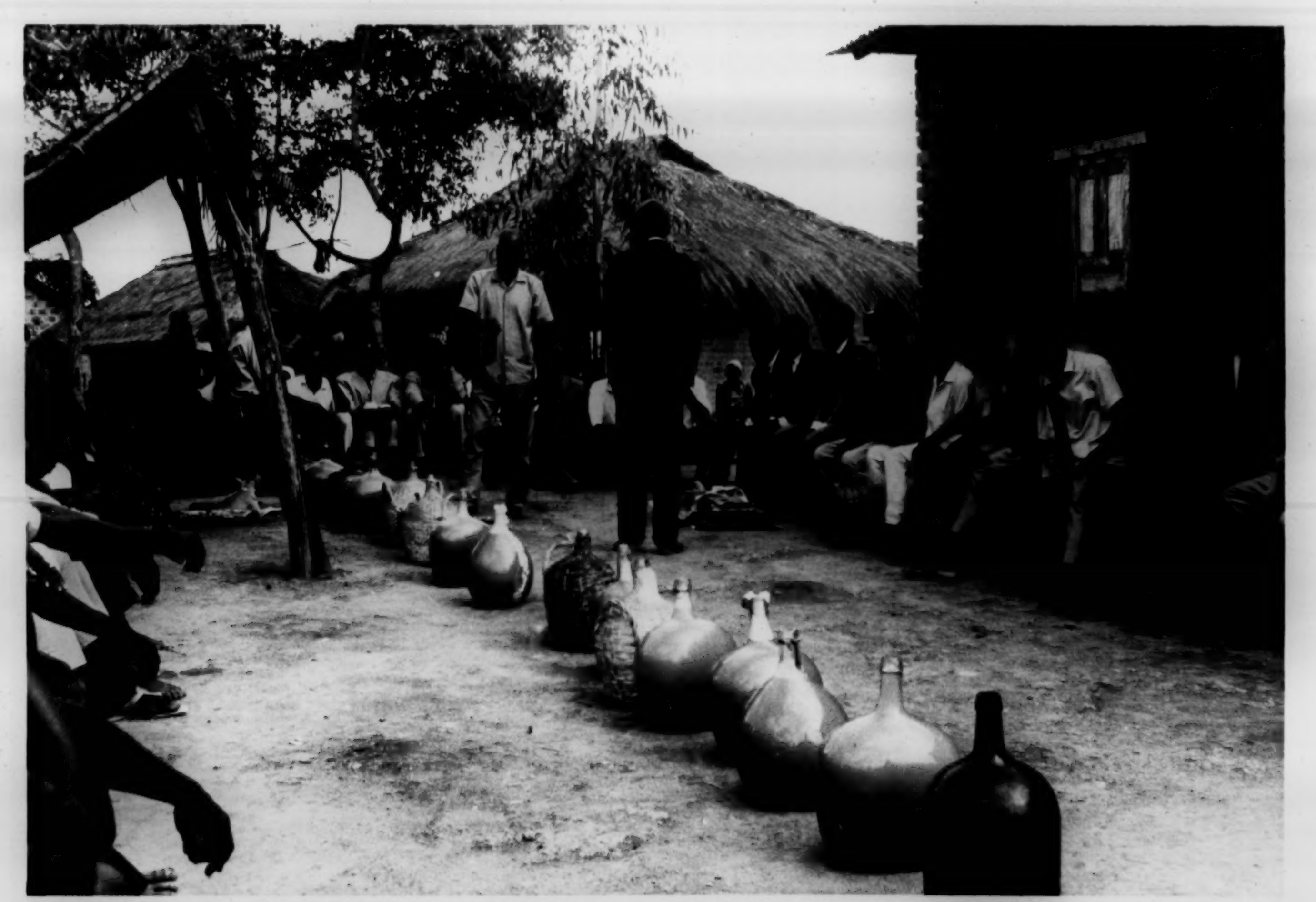

Fig. 36.— The speakers of each side debate the bride payment

relations are closely linked in this idiom of gifts; there is a proper and an improper manner by which to enter in upon, and to terminate, almost every contingency in life. For example, if a person wishes to contract another's services in the construction of a house, he will approach him with the "cup of wine of asking for services".

The cup, the pig, and the chicken are however only convenient symbols of possession based on traditional property measures. They are readily substitutable by cash. But an indication of the tenacity of etiquette values, of their deeply-rooted source in social structure, is that even cash payments need to be bent to the idiom of the cup, the pig, and the chicken. Whence the seeming anachronisms of the "dry cup", mbungu wayuma, the nsusu a yuma, the "dry chicken", i.e., cash, in contrast to the nsusu a meenga, the "blood chicken", and so forth, or the fine in court for adultery of "a pig of 500 francs".

The cup, etc., system is thus wide-ranging in application. At one end it is almost pure aesthetics, as for example in the practice of placing a green kimbansia leaf in the hand holding the real cup to indicate integrity of intention in trading or interaction. At the other end it is deeply imbedded in the network of interpersonal rights and obligations. Or, to put it somewhat differently, the etiquette of the cup, the chicken, and the pig constitutes the commodity of social relations. The importance of this symbolic property exchange in social relationships may be illustrated from cases touching on the court system, the patron-client tie, the "father"-"child" relationship, and marriage, the last of which lies at the basis of the alliance network.

The contemporary communal courts generally honor the demands of the plaintiff for a "cup" or "pig" ritual payment in addition to the imposed fine, although the judges' panel often decreases both costs in the final judgment. Not all cases involve the additional ritual payment of a cup, chicken or pig. Debts incurred at commercial centers, or cases involving negligence in hygiene, for example, involve only a single dimension of obligation. More interesting are those cases having to do directly with status such as clientage termination, divorce, and land.

Thus in Kivunda court case #318 of October 22, 1947, already alluded to above (see Chapter IV), Binkimbula of the Nsundi segment of Kingana village sought to remove himself and his kinsmen from clientage to the Kimbanga of Kisiasia. The value of their common ancestress at the time she was acquired by the Kimbanga, or transferred to client status by her elders, was seven guns, one goat, and a chicken. In the ransom hearing the contemporary value of the original payment was set at 200 francs, with court costs of 24 francs. But in addition to this the Kimbanga received 400 francs as "a pig of proof of termination of the clientage" and 200 francs as lusansu, a return on the investment made in the meantime for patronage.

The economic aspects of this ransom reflect the three dimensions of the bond (in this instance) between patron and client. The original commitment to clientage may have been due variously to seizure in feuds, inability of the mother's brother or other possessor to meet a debt payment, the client's voluntary submission to clientage over a debt, or, of course, to hereditarily-determined affiliation to a patron. At the time of ransom the original debt must thus be resolved. In addition, the ransom procedure normally involves the payment of the pig. This aspect of the payment denotes the transfer of the client's jural dependence from his patron back to the corporate descent group of his own consanguines. Although he has not lost his clanic affiliation, for all purposes he had given up his jural status in his own corporate descent group. The payment of the pig thus symbolizes his passage as jural individual to another corporate group.

The payment of a pig, whether real or in species, is the most consequential of all ritual payments. Generally it is demanded only in circumstances such as the foregoing when descent group identity is involved. Just as the return of a client to full jural status in his own corporate descent group requires a ritual pig, so also affairs of witchcraft, and "incestuous" marriage between two branches of a lineage, exact the payment of the pig. The payment of a pig redefines or re-establishes descent-defined social relations.

By contrast, conventional marriage does not involve the payment of a pig. It does not call into question ultimate descent-group loyalties; in fact marriage accentuates the identity of the corporate descent group by serving as the context of exchange. An example involving witch-craft, marriage, and clientage illustrates the manner in which each domain of interaction is defined in terms of property conveyance.

Bakuna and Bakumata, daughters of the senior Nsundi female of Nseke-Mwini, were born in Kimbaku village west of Kisiasia while their mother was married to Mabiala of that village. Kibuni was accused of witchcraft by her husband's lineage and fled to her father's lineage at

Kintwala; in order to defend his honor he had the nkasa poison ordeal administered to her. She proved her innocence by vomiting the liquid. But her husband Mabiala still demanded a "pig" and "wine" for injuries, whereupon Kibuni gave over her two daughters as redress. Later when Mabiala died, and Kibuni had returned to her matrilineal home, the daughters were married. But these marriages did not involve the usual bride payment to the father and the mother's brothers. Rather, their husbands paid the ransom of a pig, freeing them from their former possessors and fathers, but in effect committing them to clientage with themselves. Although nominally involved in the affairs of their own matrilineage, I was told that the exact nature of their present ties to their husbands would not be determined until some critical moment involving disease or their children's marriage would occur.

A third aspect of the ransom mentioned in the Kivunda course case above is the payment of the lusansu. The lusansu payment (derived from sansa, to form, to educate, to endow with one's blessing) entails more than the return of goods and services bestowed upon a client by his lord. Since the patron-client tie is assimilated to that of father to child, and often in fact corresponds to the uterine paternal relationship, there is an overlapping of clientage and paternity. The lusansu is also paid by a groom and his kinsmen to the father of the bride entirely apart from clientage as the major part of the bride payment. It is he, and not the "possessor" of the girl, her mother's brother, who has engendered her, raised her, perhaps educated her, and above all, provided her with the paternal blessing evident in the fact that she has achieved maturity and the potential for being a good spouse and mother. Recent students of Kongo society who claim to see the end of the matrilineage's control over an individual by citing the proportionately higher bride payment going to the father instead of the mother's brother fail to understand the traditional, and largely religious, function of the paternal-patronal role. Thus in modern times with the advent of school tuition, it is not surprising that a well-educated girl requires a far higher bride price to be paid to the father than formerly; but this is no indication of a concomittantly increasing "fatherright".

At the time of a girl's marriage, as mentioned above, the mbinda rooster is given the bride's father by her groom or his matrilineal and patrilineal kinsmen, i.e., those who "stand with him" and who share the costs of the bride payment if he is unable to himself. The mbinda denotes the promise on the part of the groom to augment the bride payment if the bride at any time thereafter is in difficulty, if she has trouble giving birth, if her children are sickly, and the like. An illustration will indicate how economic, religious, as well as social factors are implicated.

> B., of a lineage located in a neighboring village to Kisiasia was married to M., of another village, presently government judge in Matadi. B. had given birth four times, twice by cesearian section. The last child was stillborn. M., suspecting trouble in B's lineage background, sent her to the village to receive her mase's (father's matrilineage) blessing (lusakumunu). These latter are the Kikwimba clan section formerly clients in the hierarchy of dependent lineage segments of the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini, some of which remain in Kisiasia.
>
> The reason given for B's difficulties was that the original bride payment had not been properly divided between her father's and her mother's kin group; the marriage had been contracted during the colonial period when the imposed

> ceiling of payment had been 600 francs. The bride's maternal family had ostensibly "eaten" the entire sum or a good deal of it, giving the paternal side cause for discontentment. Although both sides had originally given the couple their blessing they no longer felt that the paternal blessing was valid and that this side had kangidi kolo, "tied up" or "choked" her (the wife's) womb. Thus she was asking for a renewed blessing; the paternal kinsmen, in their turn, were asking for an addition to the lusansu payment, evidently in dispute since the marriage.
>
> The speaker for the woman's paternal kinsmen opened by rhetorically asking that either the marriage be annulled or that the lusansu money be paid. The maternal kinsmen countered by imploring the mase of the woman to grant the blessing lest their lineage become extinct. The agreed upon sum, consisting of 2000 francs makwela (bride payment) + a "cup" worth 320 francs + 140 francs for "the asking of the blessing of the fathers of the woman", most of which came from B's husband, was handed over by her own maternal kinsmen to her paternal kinsmen.
>
> Following this came the rite of blessing. Three elderly women of B's mase (classificatory fathers') group pronounced the benediction "go in peace; have many children; may those behind you not follow you." and interlocking hands in armpits with B, each in turn jumped together with her three times (dumuna), a rite signifying mystical transmission.

The blessing (lusakumunu) of the matrilineage is fully as important as this but is not, naturally, associated with the bride payment, nor with gift giving. Within the confines of the corporate matrilineage the blessing is usually bestowed upon a member in connection with his illness, his failure in business, or with fighting between lineage kinsmen, and so forth; all these things are thought to be a concommitant of abuse of authority and the infraction of explicit or self-understood corporate lineage rules. It is for this reason usually preceded by the ndombolo a nlemvo, asking of forgiveness, for having usurped or challenged the authority of the lineage hierarchy.

The importance of economically-gauged social values should be sufficiently clear. The thorough-going reliance, even in contemporary

Manianga society, on mechanisms of etiquette such as the "cup", the "wine", the "chicken", or the "pig"--and there are others--in litigation, in private service contracts between individuals, in the adjustment of relations with affinal and consanguinal kinsmen, or in economic and social "indebtedness", all suggests that a purpose well beyond mere manners, although manners are very important, is being served. Central to the purpose of etiquette and exchange is the necessity of defining corporate and individual roles and statuses. All this is nowhere more evident than in that complex of rights and obligations comprising what is commonly referred to as the alliance network in which it is the corporate matrilineage above all that is involved.

Alliance and Kinship

Elsewhere I have already defined the corporate matrilineal descent group in terms of unilineal descent. It was noted that numerous elements of descent ideology and practice such as name inheritance, blood ideology, and beliefs regarding witchcraft, as well as kinship role relations and terms, are called on to validate corporate lineage solidarity and identity. However, to define the descent groups as a corporate group solely in terms of unilineality is of limited usefulness because there are certain ambiguities in both ideology and practice. An individual's filiation with his matrilineal dikanda is uncontested, but he may in fact live under the regulating authority of his father, and share his father's matrilineal land. There are instances where descent lines are fused in the interest of over-riding political interests as for example when brothers who constitute a well-established, land-owning organization lack a classificatory or uterine sister to perpetuate their own line there is the tendency to coopt a "sister" from another dependent line to fulfill the female descent role. These instances as well as the total relationship between superior and inferior descent groups in which normative rules are nonetheless disregarded, in which bonds theoretically prohibited are nevertheless gone into, suggest that we should look elsewhere for a more consistent definition of corporate group structure. The descent argument, in other words, has a point of diminishing returns.

Alliance begins with marriage between a man and a woman of distinct exogamous descent lines. Contractual arrangements hinge on the consent and support of the hierarchical authority of each group. To the degree that exchange of goods occurs in marriage, funerals, lineage feasts of various kinds, and even in debt obligations, the corporate matrilineage is established as an inner-differentiated entity with its own affairs.

Considered as the basis of narrowly-defined alliance, marriage is not greatly different from other forms of contract such as loaning livestock with accumulative interest. One of the common terms currently used in speaking of marriage in the Manianga is to sompa nkento, to borrow or loan a woman. Brothers and mothers' brothers sompisa (causitive of sompa) their sisters or sisters' daughters. Bunsompi is the interest on a loan (Laman:1936; Fukiau:1964). What is being negociated here of course is the husband's rights to his wife's sexual and reproductive capacities, in addition to a number of other expectations on her part. I have already discussed the lusansu, or the part of the bride payment that goes to the father or the party who educates and raises the girl; this is distinct from the payment made to her matrilineal kinsmen. The actual control a man exercises over his wife depends greatly on the personal inclinations of the two and on the backing each receives from his or her kinsmen. For this reason the Maniangans will argue that the bride payment is symbolic--they use the word--and represents the on-going relationship between two groups. It is for this reason not uncommon to witness a marriage in which neither husband nor wife is present; they may not have been able to come from the city, or may be in Europe studying, and so forth. But there is less conviction in this regard in speaking of marriages between a status superior man and his client wife. Here, again, much of the contract depends upon relations between the superior and the inferior descent groups. But in such cases as the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage where the husband is both "possessor" and "wife taker" it is evident that conventional contractual norms do not obtain.

Correspondingly, the various kinds of relationships between corporate descent groups, and between groups whose "corporateness" varies in strength, determines the political structure on which the flow of goods and payments from the time collected until the point distributed, will depend. Thus if clients are on bad terms with their superiors they may indeed have a difficult time getting them to supply the prerequisite funds for a marriage. This in turn affects the question of whom the inferiors may marry. If the inferiors are the ones giving a sister in marriage, they may also find themselves embarrassed in that their superiors will demand eventual collection of the funds.

Somewhat the same kind of wide variation obtains then in the freedoms a woman retains for herself in marriage. Normally, if she and her kinsmen have freeman status, she is allowed to keep her personal possessions, her household utensils, her savings, and the proceeds of her labor, to herself. When her husband dies, she is free to return to her brothers' settlement with her children if she is not remarried by her deceased husband's relative. Both the levirate and the "widow inheritance" are practiced. If a woman is of a status inferior group, and especially if she is married to a man of her "possessors" group, all the above rights are curtailed. Here she is at one and the same time daughter, wife, and inferior, i.e., female possession. If she has no brothers or consanguinal males to defend her interests, her status is indeed that of slave. However it is not correct to generalize too much in this connection. The client woman often has free kinsmen nearby. Moreover all clients have the self-implied right to appeal to another patron if their life is too miserable. Their status thus varies greatly, and it is not uncommon for these client descent segments to remain with their patrons after they have been redeemed. This in itself indicates that a form of voluntary clientage system obtains.

The one important constant in all marriage--concubinage excluded--is the bride payment, and attached to that, the notion of loaning the bride's services and potentials to the husband. What varies greatly however is the initial network of fund collecting, i.e., the provenance of the money, wine, and cloth, and the eventual distribution of these same items. Here political factors enter. The political composition of a multi-descent group community is in turn expressed, in part formulated, by alliance links. This is especially so, as already suggested, in the marriage between two recognized kinsmen, in particular in the alternatives provided by bilateral cross-cousin marriage. In general it holds true that the more kinship is involved in determining the prior relationship between potential spouses, the more alliance reflects and defines the inner differentia of corporate lineage organization. In order to understand this aim of alliance it is useful to consider the manner in which affinal categories are generated in the over-all social structure.

As already suggested elsewhere, an important feature of the Kongo-Manianga kinship system is the alternation of generations so that there is a latent antagonism between adjacent generations and a harmony between alternates, or, to use Radcliffe-Brown's terminology, disjunctive and conujunctive component relations respectively (1965:95). This characteristic obtains for the individual both with respect to his patrilateral matrilineage community where he is born and raised as well as in his own matrilineal descent group to whose settlement he normally returns--if he is not a client of his father's group--after puberty to be under the authority of his mother's brother. In both instances he is under the authority of his adjacent senior genealogical generation. The apposition of father to mother's brother, constituting an important point of escape from the total authority of mother's brother, does not essentially detract from the generationally-linked deference being discussed here because it is the element of residence, just as much as that of descent, which defines it. Maniangans commonly recognize that one's relationship with father's group takes on a markedly more intimate and friendly tone the moment one has quit father's settlement for that of the mother's brother. In other words the concommittants of residence create a need for the alternative link. Because residence in adult age is more intertwined with critical factors of succession and inheritance, it merely appears as if the father's kin group plays the predominant alternative role, although this need not be the case at all times.

The evident extension of similar kin terms across the matrilineal and the patrilaterally-linked sides of an individual's kinship network requires careful examination. Ego regards his father's side as a reduplication of his mother's brother's side. But there is more to the correspondence of terms on both sides than either mere reduplication of residence-linked hierarchical structure or a simple extension of categories from the matrilineal side. The question of sex-differentiated categories enters in.

If we examine the kinship terms attaching to Ego's immediate senior adjacent generation on both his father's and his mother's side we note that there is a complementarity of roles so that the affines on one side correspond to the lineal consanguines on the other.

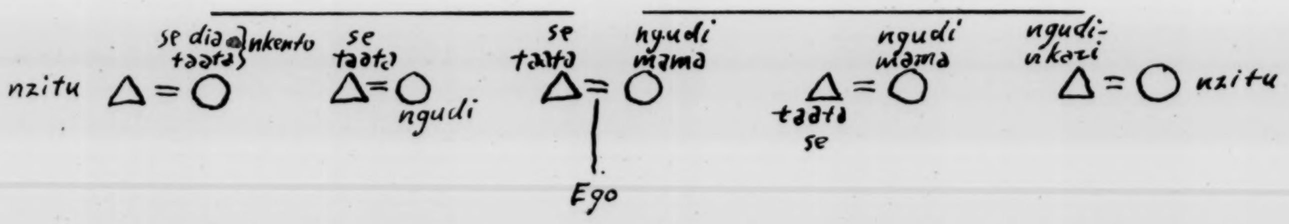

Fig. 37. --Ego's senior adjacent generation

Logically, if not empirically, the kinship structure is amenable to a direct exchange relationship between two matrilineal descent groups with marriage preference and prohibition following alternate generational emphasis. The same holds true of possible marriage with affines. One's own generational affines on both father's and mother's side are termed nkwezi; joking and potential marriage characterize the relationship between bankwezi. Affines of all alternative generations on both sides are classed together, and in contrast, are termed nzitu, from zitisa, to honor, respect, and avoid. This relationship, also reciprocal, is characterized by marriage prohibition.

If we expand the kinship network to ego's own generation we find an integrated system defined by elements of residence, sex-differentiation, and antipathy of adjacent generations, as reflected in Ego's marriage choice in the direct exchange alliance model between two descent groups.

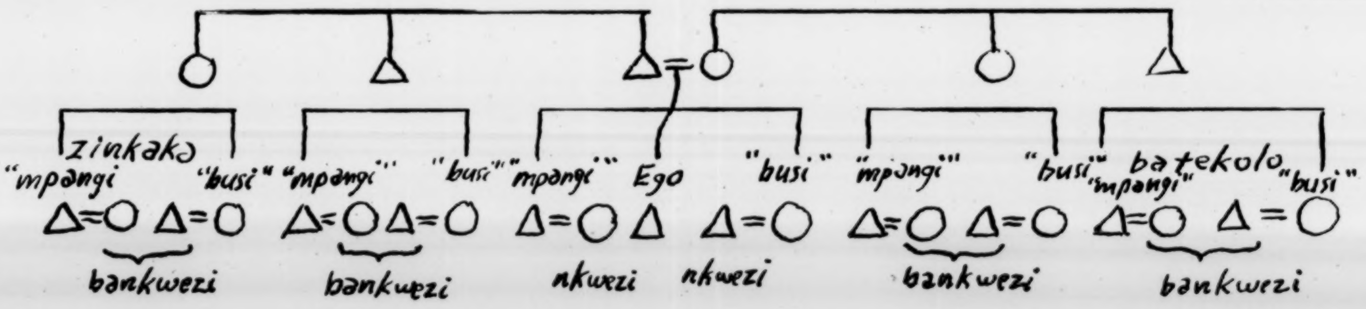
zinkako
"mpangi
"busi"
bankwezi
"mpangi"
"busi"
bankwezi
"mpangi"
Ego
nkwezi
"busi"
nkwezi
"mpangi"
"busi"
bankwezi
batekolo
"mpangi"
"busi"
bankwezi

Fig. 38. --Ego's own generation.[1]

Although direct exchange alliance relations are not statistically significant, there is a tendency for alliance relations to become that given stability in other things. The Manianga matrilineage commonly marries into many other groups but actually fixes its relations on only a few. The Kimbanga matrilineage of Kisiasia in its recorded history has for example married into or received women from more than fifty other lineage groups. Yet it has intermarried continuously in a direct exchange basis with only four other groups. The important point for present purposes however is that the kin terms and roles are based on the logic of a direct exchange model.

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[1] If Ego is female, mpangi becomes nkazi, busi becomes mpangi. Male Ego's spouse is nkento, nkazi, etc. Female Ego's spouse bakala, mfuumu, etc.

Male Ego's marriage preferences and prohibitions are determined by sex-differentiated affiliation with the preceding generation, a factor that corresponds to the childhood residence pattern in the hypothetical direct exchange model. He can thus marry his FaSiDa and his MoBrDa, but marriage with his FaBrDa and with MoSiDa is prohibited. This latter category of prohibited partners, it will be noted, are the children of the classificatory mase, in whose settlement--following the direct exchange model,--Ego has grown up. Definition of this category of kinsmen of a single generation as the exogamous sibling set recalls the Mahungu myth (see Chapter V) in which following the separation into two sexes Mahungu has worries and "first thoughts" because he can no longer "be 'children' of the same father". In the text of the myth the creation of the marriage institution resolves the problem. It is significant in this connection that there is a dissimilarity between the present exchange-oriented definition of exogamy and the descent oriented definition of the matrilineage. Whereas the latter merely states that people of the "same blood" must not marry, the former provides the structure of a viable direct exchange relationship. Ethnographers such as Van Wing (1949:156) have often taken the Kongo notion of "same blood" to refer to the matrilineage. However the impression I received from many informants is that the paternal identification, often also phrased in terms of paternal "blood", equally entered into the picture to determine exogamous boundaries because it is identification with a common "father", and not with one's own lineage, which provides the most propitious terms of exchange, and thus the perpetuation of society.

Cross-cousins receive the same appelatory terms--*mpangi* and *busi* for brother and sister respectively if Ego is male, *nkazi* and *mpangi* for the same if Ego is female--as one's uterine siblings and one's parallel cousins. It is particularly preferable in contemporary times for a man to marry his father's sister's daughter. In doing so one marries a father's kinsman and, following the direct exchange model, someone who, being the child of father's sister, grew up away from father's settlement; hypothetically, someone who was raised in one's own mother's brother's tutelage. Thus the exchange circuit would be extended into another generation.

However there is a noted asymmetry between MoBrDa and FaSiDa marriage. The former, matrilateral cross-cousins, are assimilated to the category of "grandchildren", and the latter to that of "grandparents". In the terminology attaching to father's matrilineally-related kin group, all of Ego's own and alternative generation kinsmen are called nkaka, and those of his adjacent generations *tata*, or *se*. This holds in particular to the direct matriline into which Ego can marry on an every-other-generation basis. Thus those whom he may marry, his zinkaka, are FaSiDa, FaMo, and FaSiDaDaDa, and so on. Within the immediate genealogical descendants of Ego's FaSiSo (nkaka), we find a form of replication of the relationship between ego's classificatory fathers and their children, so that Ego's FaSiSoCh are called mpangi and busi, although their generational or role term is baana, children. This same sort of exception occurs in the set of FaSiDaSoCh who are likewise called mpangi and busi although they are generational equivalents of Ego's batekolo, or grandchildren. All this is the result of a type of status alteration amongst the patrilateral cross-cousins--vis-à-vis Ego--and their descending lines, which replicate at various genealogical levels the "father-child" relationship. Marriage with patrilateral cross-cousins and their descendants is consequently to be spoken of as hypergamous.

Matrilateral cross-cousins, who are given the role term batekolo, or "grandchildren", are conversely ranked lower. This marriage form was practiced widely wherever superior lineage men intermarried with their clients over a number of generations. Male members of inferior lines who were expected to marry into their "father's" group would marry "up" by marrying their FaSiDa, their terminological "grandmothers".[1]

With the foregoing description of kinship categories and marriage preferences in a similar generation, we may turn to a consideration of the factors determining Ego's relations with his immediate succeeding generation.

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[1] The only other theoretically possible alternative to alliance between equal status groups, namely the circle of matrilaterally-marrying units of three or more, has not apparently proven a possibility in Kongo-Manianga society in spite of certain traditional cyclic economic such as the acephalous four-day market cycle or the kitemo rotating credit association. Levi-Strauss (1949:575-588) has hypothesized in this connection that the variable of political or economic instability--which the Lower Congo certainly has seen--would tend to lead from a matrilateral exchange cycle involving three or more distinct groups to the structured bilateral marriage system accompanied by hierarchy of descent groups and hypergamic marriage. While this theoretical explanation would conform to approximate Kongo condition, ethnographic and historic evidence, apart from Pechuel-Loesche's scanty reference to the kitemo as a "marriage arrangement association", is insufficient to permit further analysis.

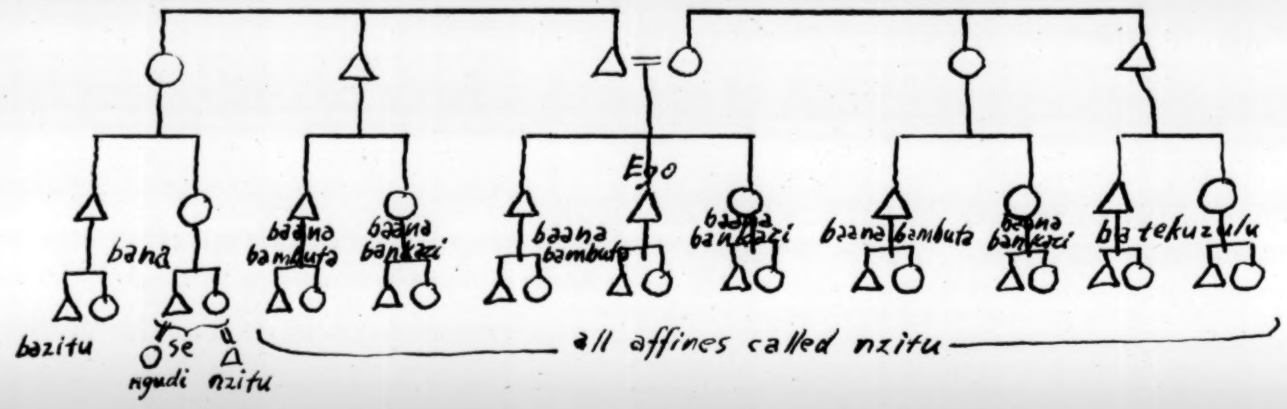

Fig. 39. --Ego's adjacent succeeding generation.[2]

Aside from the generation-identified hyper-ranking of FaSiDa's children, all of Ego's immediately succeeding generational kinsmen are classified as "children", baana. Children of cross-cousins, due to the ranking process which affects their parents vis-à-vis ego, are seen either as bana or in the succeeding generation rank reckoned from their parents. Thus MoBrChCh are alternatively seen as bana, children, or as batekuzula "great-grandchildren". Such alternation of kin and appelatory terms is not considered as a grave contradiction by the Maniangans because either choice of terms falls along the lines of alternative generational identification. In the event of marriage between Ego or his uterine and classificatory siblings with matrilateral cross-cousins, the children take on the role relationship prerequisites vis-à-vis Ego for any "children". Patrilateral cross-cousins' children, similarly, are simultaneously regarded in terms of the over-riding "system" of terms and categories as well as in specific relations.

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[2] Marriage with the adjacent succeeding generation initiates several transformations of the kin terminology given here. With male ego marrying his FaSiDa, the children of FaSiSo come to be called mpangi and busi along the same lines as siblings and parallel-cousins; their spouses are nkwezi, and no longer nzitu. If male ego marries his FaSiDa, their children become baana bambuta to him; similarly, if male ego marries MoBrDa, a marriage sometimes requiring the "pig of breaking the 'same blood' tie", children are baana bambuta. If female Ego marries MoBrSo, children are baana. Similar transformations in kin and affinal terminology occur when Ego marries in his "grandchildren's" generation, meaning that certain priorities in relationship are super-imposed over normal categories. Conflicting kin roles may occur between two persons, but only rarely does this eventuality produce any real ambivalence of action.

One's own, one's uterine siblings', and one's parallel cousins' children are divided into categories of baana bambuta, "children born (to their father)", and bana bankazi, "children of the nkazi", literally, those who are under the authority of their mother's brother, classificatorily reckoned. The logic in this distinction flows from the fact that the baana bambuta are those patrilaterally-reckoned grandchildren of one's classificatory or real fathers, i.e., father, father's brother, and mother's sister's husband. The baana bankazi are those matrilineally-reckoned grandchildren of one's classificatory or real mothers, i.e., mother, mother's sister, and father's brother's wife. The distribution of baana bambuta and baana bankazi is again based on the implicit model of direct exchange between the two corporate descent groups with which an individual is attached by filiation. They constitute cross-cousins in Ego's genealogically adjacent succeeding generation, and are mutual potential spouses. If there has been extensive cross-cousin marriage in Ego's own generation between his father's and his mother's descent groups, the category of baana bambuta will represent potential affines of his own corporate lineage and the baana bankazi potential affines of his father's group. However the Maniangans shy away from intermarriage on a cross-cousin basis between two free lineages any oftener than one exchange every generation because of the risks of witchcraft and "retaliation" in the event of divorce. Thus in spite of the common kinship categories, both the baana bambuta and the baana bankazi classificatory groups will commonly be distributed over several matrilineally-reckoned descent groups. Rights to land, and so forth, usually given the immediate children, will of course not be operative to baana bambuta of more distant kinship ties. But here, in contrast to the baana bankazi, the scattering of baana bambuta over a number of descent units will not appreciably alter their ritual obligations to their mase (classificatory and real) "fathers".

More could be said in general analysis of the Manianga kinship and marriage system, but the importance of alliance in defining the structure of the corporate lineage should be clear by now. In order to understand the processual dimension of alliance it is necessary to look at the "moments" of alliance, in other words the rituals of exchange. By ritual here I mean both expression and manipulation of significant symbols as well as the specific rites used to revalidate existing social relationships.

Occasions of Exchange in Mortuary Ritual

I have already alluded to certain rites, such as that of acquiring the paternal matriline's blessing, which reify alliance bonds with an exchange of gifts and money. The subject is vast and touches on all aspects of the Manianga's life. One Congolese writer could recently devote five pages of a book to the topic of alliance etiquette in making a journey, the proper greeting, the appropriate gift, and so on. Marriage rites, of course, are significant in that they initiate alliance ties, or extend those already established. However it is the mortuary rituals of the *luziku*, burial, the *nkatudulu a kifwidi*, the lifting of mourning, (also called the *nkatudulu a nsuki*, the cutting of the hair of the deceased's close affines), and the *matanga*, the feast given periodically by a matrilineage in honor of its recent dead, which best portray the widest span of alliance obligations and expectations.

The three mortuary rites are concerned with adjusting the lineage to the death of one of its members and precipitate the need for a redefinition of roles vis-à-vis the deceased. The principal actors of all three occasions--the burial, the lifting of mourning, and the feast of honor, may be portrayed graphically in the following manner (reckoning the deceased (Ego) as an adult male).

Ego's own generation:	Bankwezi, also *mafula*.	Bampangi & bibusi, or, if female, bankazi & bampangi.
Adjacent succeeding generation:	Baana bambuta	Baana bankzi
	Classificatory affines & children:	Consanguines:

Fig. 40. --The principal actors in mortuary rites.

There are of course other lineage members on hand at these occasions; friends of the deceased and friends of his siblings are expected to be on hand. But what is important is that the alliance obligations and the program of the rituals and ceremonies are rationalized in terms of two adjacent generations of affinals and consanguinials. The distribution of ceremonial obligations emphasizes inner differentiation of the host corporate matrilineage organization as well as the genealogically-differentiated lines of alliance.

Each of the ritual occasions following the death of an adult individual entails the mafundu prestation of cloth, money, wine, and so forth, on the part of the mafula (in-marrying affines of Ego's own generation) and the baana bambuta. The mafundu payment in mortuary ceremonies actually operates on the basis of "pressured reciprocity" through time with reference to an original point of alliance. There is the fundu dia mbakisa, the "first instance" of exchange, or the "accepting" of gifts and payments with the stipulated promise of future reciprocation; following this is the fundu dia mvutula, the "return obligation" in exchange for an earlier gift; finally, there is the fundu diansoma, the third instance of reciprocity in which an individual or group returns goods to meet an "augmented gift by the other party in response to his initial gesture" (Kamuna 1965:33). Strict convention governs all these modes of exchange; the obligation to reciprocate is in fact a debt, mfuka, in which refusal or lassitude may become grounds for accusation and adjudication before the court. For this reason every lineage head has his "little black book" in which detailed records of lineage-related alliance receipts and expenditures are kept.

As I have already suggested above, this exchange of goods is a social logic recognized in a wide variety of inter-personal and inter-group contexts. But it takes on its most grandious proportions in the mortuary rites. The host, the lineage of the deceased, is expected to provide generously for the needs of all guests. An aura of honor is attached to giving a feast; honor to the deceased and propriety before the in-laws, the children, and outsiders.

The hosts are quick to please and to follow the rules of etiquette correctly. Much ostentatious morality is shown on these occasions. In short, the essence of these feasts is the promotion of successful exchange, to give as good an image of the corporate group as possible.

Upon the death of an adult individual of good repute, whether of a free lineage or a client group, his classificatory bankwezi, the affines of his own classificatory siblings on both his father's and mother's side, plus the persons of this same category in alternative generations to him, are expected to bring cloth, wine, or money as a tribute of respect. A variety of other persons with whom the deceased has had close contacts may also come although their obligations are determined by particularities rather than affinal conventions. In a day of migrant labor and distant travel it is often impossible to attend the burial; but proxy representation and delayed payment of obligations are quite acceptable, thus once again demonstrating the juxtaposition of economic contract and sentiment between two lineage groups.

The baana bambuta, the classificatory "children", come not only to pay respects but also to play a counter-balancing role to the host matrilineage, their "fathers". They constitute the patrilateral descendants of the deceased's group, and are considered to be immune to the various kinds of animosities both latent and external that plague their paternal matrilineage. While affines of the deceased and members of his own matrilineage are expected to pay their respects directly to the mortal remains, the baana bambuta are in fact the ones who carry out the crucial stages of ritual from the moment of death until burial. Apart from a few "sisters", "spouses", or "brothers" who stay near the body throughout, the baana bambuta alone may occupy the temporarily-erected funerary shelter of palm fronds. Throughout the "white night" of mourning following the day of decease, they are expected to lead the singing or mourning. Christian influence, the colonial presence for two generations, and the rule of twenty-four hour maximum lapse between death and burial, have changed many older more embellished and drawn out customs in this regard. But the ritual roles have not altered. The baana bambuta are on hand to ceremonially "neutralize" the deceased and to guard against real or mystical "incidents".

On the following day, after the coffin has been made and all other preparations are completed, the corpse is placed into the coffin amidst generous layers of white cloth. In 1965 nearly 30 meters of cloth were used at this occasion to demonstrate honorable burial as well as outright conspicuous wealth. To add to this impression the cloth was slit throughout with a knife, although the ostensible reason for this was to discourage any potential grave robbers present from disintering the corpse and selling the cloth for a macabre profit. All of the baana bambuta on hand receive a small square of the last piece placed into the coffin. The "white night", the fear of incidents, the white burial cloth, the "grave robbers", and the very disposition of the role played by the baana bambuta are part of the complex Kongo cosmography having to do with the complementarily opposed realms of white/black, day/night, this world/the other world, and the passage from one to the other.

The procession to the burial ground is led by the baana bambuta who sing and dance and wave their white bits of burial cloth about to "encourage" their "father" to follow them. The spouses and a few close kinsmen dance backwards before the coffin, moving slowly between the two lines of baana bambuta who create an ritual "path" to the cemetery. Among the baana bambuta the dialectic of kinship oppositions is constantly dramatized in the liturgy and the choreography of the rite. Those baana bambuta carrying the coffin along the "white way", demarcated on either side by fluttering pieces of white cloth, periodically come to a sudden halt in their dancing forward movement to simulate the reticence of the dead "father" to leave his settlement. The others among the baana bambuta then raise the tone of their singing and increase the frenzy of their dancing to "encourage him" to move on. A vast repertoire of funerary songs, lyrics constructed along the lines of call and response expressive of the inuendos of witchcraft accusation and counter-accusation are sung by the baana bambuta.[1] The "hesitancy" of the corpse on its way to the cemetery usually occurs under prepared palm arches, indicative of stages of removal from the settlement of the living to the cemetery.

The male bankwezi, in-laws to the deceased, are responsible for digging the grave. The actual site of burial is usually in the lineage sacred forest cemetery, but exceptionally the desire of the deceased to be buried elsewhere along a path or road is respected. A twins is often buried at a crossroad.

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[1] Fukiau (1966) describes the importance of these funeral songs as both an art form and as social criticism. In village communities they often constitute a commentary on lineage politics; in urban centers they often contain allusions to national political leaders, the plight of the population, and the national political situation.

In the old days before the imposition of colonial laws regarding speedy burial, many months could elapse between the time of death and the rites of burial. Often the corpse of a prominent individual would be dried in state for six months or as long as several years during which time formal mourning obligations were imposed on close affines, in particular the wives of a well-known chief. During the interval of time the succession to his office was arranged. If several individuals of the matrilineage had died in the meantime their mummified remains were bound together into a single funerary effigy called the nyombo and collectively buried. The nkungi feast at which generous gifts from the "children" and "affines" of the deceased's generation were required, and the matondo thanksgiving feast in which the host lineage would return the mafundu obligations to those who had helped them honor the dead were sometimes joined in one large celebration. The first mentioned feast might be held separately and before the second; at other times, if the drying had taken a long while, the nkungi feast might be held simultaneously with the burial to formally end mourning (Laman 1957:93). Thus today's equivalents to these historic customs are somewhat rearranged. But in their essential ritual logic little has changed.

Today burial follows close upon death. During the subsequent three to six months of mourning limitations of action and movement are imposed on the spouse of the deceased; affinal relatives (or if a child has died, his parents' affines) may not cut their hair. Wives remain in respectful seclusion in the settlement of their deceased husbands. The end of mourning is marked by the rite of nkatudulu a nsuki "the removal of hair", or its equivalent, the nkatudulu a kifwidi "the lifting of (the white headband of) mourning", similar to the ancient nkungi feast above (see fig. 41). The exchange pattern of this feast and the ceremony attached to it are remarkably similar to the funeral, differing only in a few noteworthy respects.

During the first evening of the announced feast the baana bambuta cordon of the house of their deceased "father"--assuming throughout in the following that the object of honor is a deceased lineage head--and erect three palm arches (mandala maba, mansianga maba), at the side of their "ad hoc" enclosure facing the village square (see fig. 42). Throughout the feast the baana bambuta consider this enclosure their exclusive domain; anyone encroaching on this area will be "severely" punished. The members of the "fathers'" lineage, that is the hosts of the feast, are expected to remain within the confines of their houses or in the center of the village throughout the following "white night" of singing and dancing by the baana bambuta. Inhabitants of the village are not permitted to leave the settlement either; the mafula ma vata, the entrances of the village, have been sealed ritually by the baana bambuta. We are here in the midst of an application of the ritual rules of Kongo cosmology; the ideal world is projected onto the spatial, temporal, and social dimensions.

Spatially speaking, the world is now divided into two complementary opposite domains, the enclosure of the late lineage headmans' house being occupied by the baana bambuta, and the remainder of the village, occupied by their mase "fathers" of the host lineage. Although the baana bambuta are free to come and go as they please, the members of their

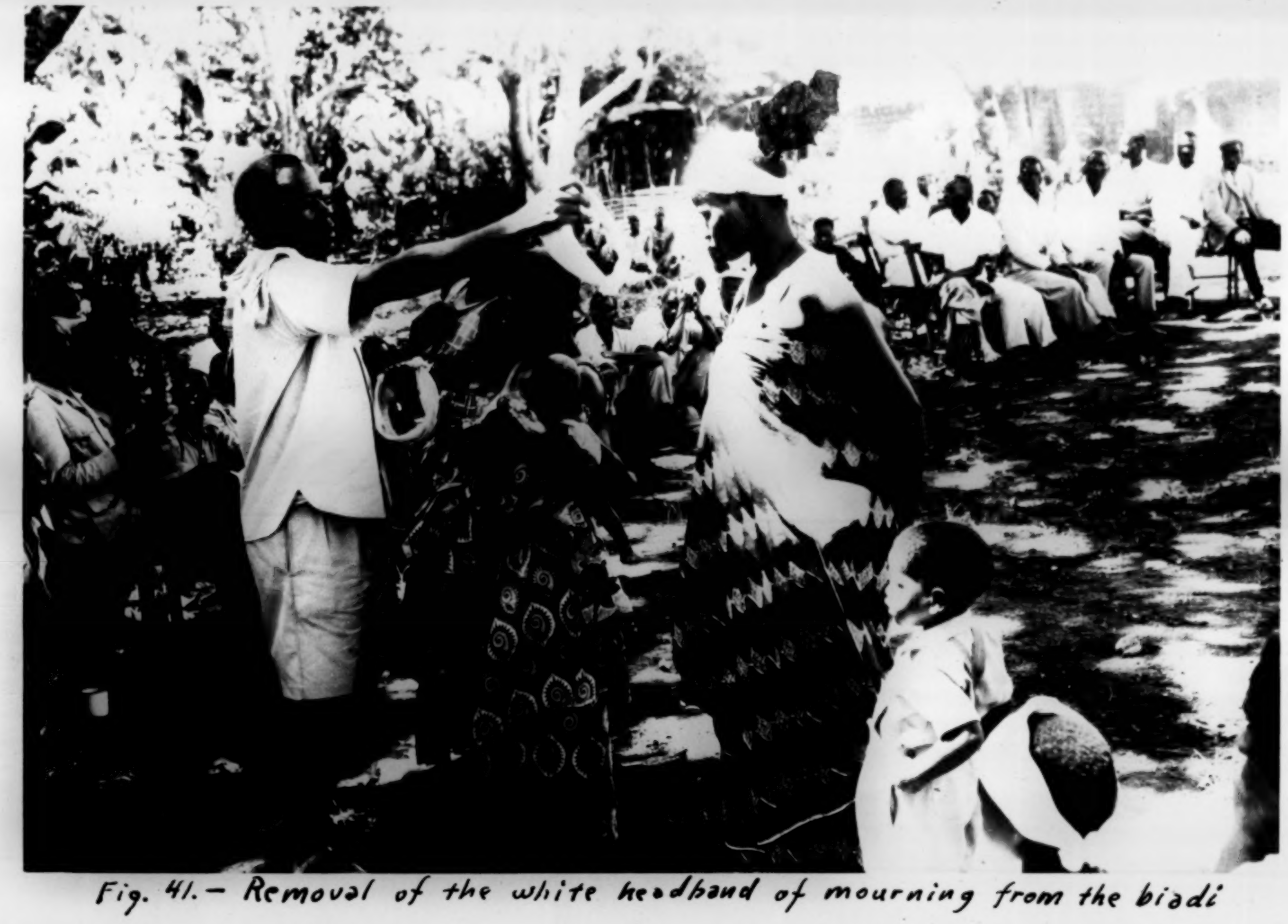

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Fig. 41.– Removal of the white headband of mourning from the biadi

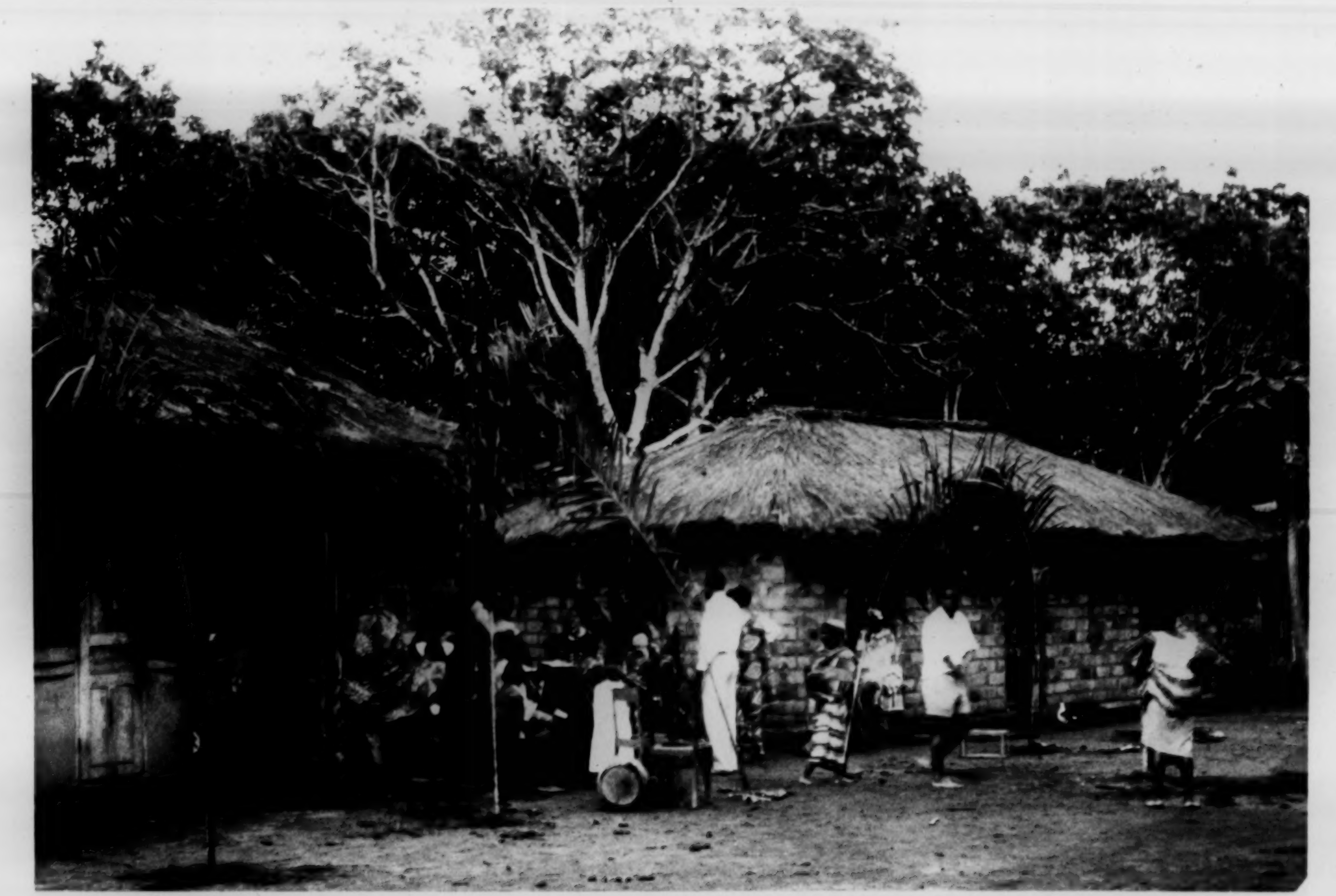

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Fig. 42.– The three arches of the enclosure to the deceased lineage headman's house, occupied by the baana bambuta

"fathers'" lineage may not; "each individual in this night has his assigned place, everything is nsiku", that is, bound by rules.

Socially speaking, the world is divided into the complementary oppositions of "fathers' children" and "children's fathers", fathers' generation and children's generation, and father's matrilineal group and children's matrilineally-reckoned groups, the children as policemen (sic) in contrast to the "fathers' being watched, the encircled as opposed to the encircling. During this night the baana bambuta are identified with the lineal ancestors of their fathers whose link with the living they represent.

Temporally considered, the events of this night represent the interplay between the timeless domain of the hereafter and the beyond as opposed to the passing domain of the here-and-now. The three palm arches before the house of the deceased dividing the baana bambuta from their mase symbolize the three stages of the life of the deceased, his birth, his apogee as head of the lineage, and his death. Further, the progression of events throughoug the night reflect the ideas embodied in the ritual image of the world. Thus as dusk approaches the baana bambuta who are gathered in the enclosure around the house of their deceased "father" begin to sing and dance to the accompaniment of ardent drumming. Until near midnight guests continue to arrive and the confusion of activities of the evening hours belies the expectation that this is a solemn night rigidly structured with rules to govern all present.

After midnight the majority retire from the village square or to the slumbering circle around the centrally-located fire. The baana bambuta now increase the tempo and intensity of their music, addressing a multitude of songs now to the dead, now to the living. One text addressed to the newly elected lineage headman spoke of the present transitory state of the lineage:

Nlembo kwaku tata Kai	Be tranquil, father Kai
Nlembo kwaku tata Kai	Be tranquil, father Kai
Ulembolo mfuumu?	You lack a chief? (i.e., authority)
Na wayala . . .	You are the chief! (i.e., there is an authority) . . .

And from the not unrelated messanic tradition of the Manianga, another text commented on the theme of despair:

Mfuumu Yesu	Lord (chief) Jesus
Umfwila nkenda	Died in compassion for us
Mu ntantu wowo . . .	In this despair . . .

Many of the other lyrics expressed the shrouded dialectic between witchcraft accusation and counter-accusation, one half of the baana bambut taking up the call, the other half the response.

The importance of the "white night" deserves special emphasis. In Kongo cosmography the underworld of the dead is identified with the color "white"; the upper present world is "black"; and when events and memory of tradition permit, the intermediary region or function is "red". This classificatory system receives reiteration in a wide variety of ceremonial occasions. In all of the mortuary rituals, in the Manianga prophets' night-time healing services, and in certain aspects of Kongo political culture, the complementary opposed domains are ritually "turned up-side-down", that is, roles are reversed. In acting out a "white night" with the accompaniment of dancing, singing, and ecstatic seizure, the "other-world" is brought into the fore. In a general sense the baana bambuta have made themselves the intermediaries of this other world. In a specific sense they have identified themselves with the deceased lineage head and his ancestors. By "sealing" the village paths and guarding the behavior of their "fathers", they act out the surveying presence of the dead over transitory events in the living lineage community, thereby impressing upon the lineage members of their fathers' group the importance of avoiding all conflict and rivalry between contestants to corporate leadership.

Out of the form of this ritual logic then emerges the mechanism of legitimate succession to the office of lineage head. After having danced and sung all night in their enclosure the baana bambuta leave their confines at the break of dawn and slowly move over to the house of the new lineage head to greet him with salvos. Then they move slowly and noisily around the circle of slumbering men in the village center and back to their confines. Symbolically, they have combined the termination of mourning and the rising of the sun with recognition of the new headman of their mase and a final choreographic cosmic circle around the other members of the lineage. The new lineage head is now empowered to carry out the next stage of the ceremony, the removal of the white head bands of mourning from these affines close to the deceased.

But first a general pause is observed. Formal activities do not begin until the mafula, those affines or in-laws who come to pay their respects by bringing gifts, will have arrived. The mafula constitute a generalized category of direct affinal and distant consanguinal kinsmen of the host lineage. Included, specifically, are the bankwezi, affines of lineage members of the deceased's generation, the bazitu, adjacent generation affines, and luvila, or matriliclan members with the same fictive descent line as the hosts. But in practice it is the bankwezi, affines of both sexes of the deceased's uterine and classificatory sibling set, in addition to the uterine siblings of the former, who constitute the most important part of the mafula. In other descriptions, and sometimes in native theory, one speaks simply of the bankwezi. At any rate, on the morning after the "white night," such relatives are expected to pay their respects by bringing their mafundu gifts of blankets, cloth, cash, wine and food (see fig.'s 43, 45-46). They are often notified beforehand as to what is expected of them. To refuse is a dour breach of etiquette, dishonorable and rude.

The termination of mourning rites generates yet another quasi-kinship category known as the *biadi*, a sub-category of the mafula, being the spouses of the uterine brothers of the deceased man, his own wife, etc., plus their mothers and children (see fig. 44). The term biadi derives from *biala* (syn., *yala*), meaning at one level to rule, be chief, or have authority; at another level it can refer to the inauguration or installation of a ruler. The historic roots of the concept go back to the dependence of a chief upon his prime supporters from the ranks of "children" and affines. Thus, *biadulu* denotes government; *luyalu* is the current term for the state and its administration; *mabiala*, convention or accord; mbiazi, regent, supreme chief, and so forth. If the root meaning of the verb biala refers to the office of authority, it also refers to the inheritable quality of that office, and all that accompanies it. Thus mbiazi in the old days was used to denote a royal prince who sought to be named as chief; to *biadika mpu* was to inaugurate or consecrate a "crowned chief" priest, a duty of the baana bambuta; *bialama* signifies to be named as a dignity, or to receive a large inheritance. To *biadila*

LISTE YA NGIONZOKOLO A BILEKUA

Mafula

1. Muyami Metusala:	2 pieces + 200 francs (1 piece = 5 meters print cloth)	
2. Nsesi Daniel:	1 vunga (vunga = blanket)	
3. Kidungisi Levy:	1 piece	
4. Lungela Samuel:	1 piece + 200 francs	
5. Makunku Zacharie:	1 nzioko (nzioko = "two arms" cloth)	
. . .		
43. Kimpasa Seboloni:	100 francs	
	Mafula total, all attending and giving:	23 pieces 5,500 francs 5 vunga 5 nzioko

Baana bambuta

1. Dumunu Antoine:	(no gift)	
2. Kizenzo Marcel:	200 francs	
3. Ngulu Ernest:	200 francs	
. . .		
15. Lumbuenazo Zack:	3,000 francs	
. . .		
37. Makiadi:	(no gift)	
	Baana bambuta total with 6 of 43 giving:	4,200 francs

Bakundi (friends invited)

1. Ngula Pierre:		
2. Ba Maitre E.L.M.: (teachers of local school)		
3. Muntanda Levy: (postmaster)		
4. Muzita Jean: (merchant)	no gifts, did not attend rite	
. . .		
9. Kusikila Yoswa: (communal mayor)		
10. Jonhon Seein (sic.) (anthropologist)		200 francs
	Grand total:	9,900 francs 115 meters print cloth 5 blankets 5 "nzioko"

Fig. 43.--Partial facsimile of "Collection List", Removal of Mourning rite, Lulomba Village, Kenge Commune, 1966.

kimfuumu is to transfer chiefship. By that same token to biadila nkento is to transfer or to inherit a wife (of a brother), in other words the process of the levirate or wife inheritance within the ranks of a deceased man's uterine brother or alternative generation kin set. In contemporary times one of the terms for widow is mubiasi.

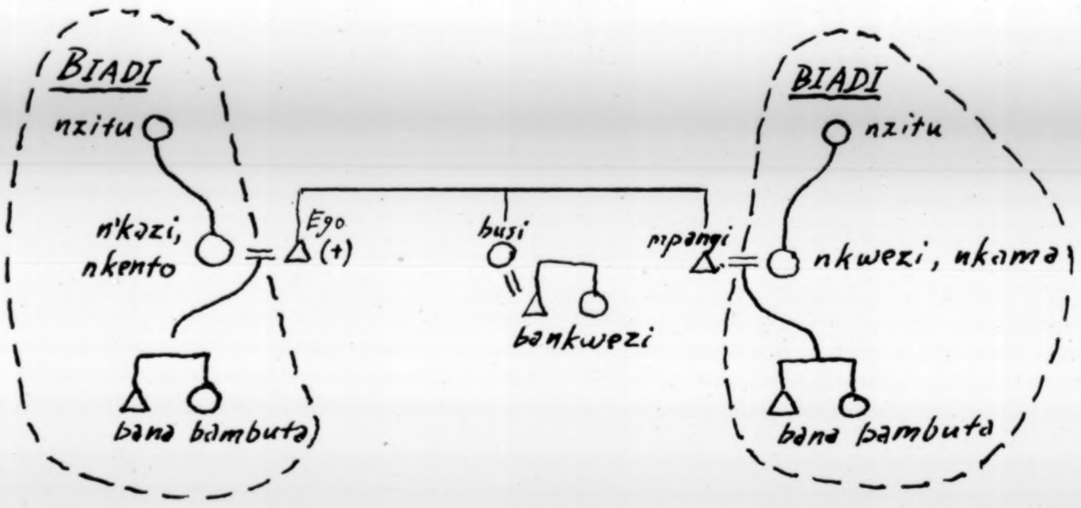

Fig. 44. --The biadi category

It is the class of biadi, then, who have been given the strictest mourning obligations. The case is slightly different if a female has died; there, of course, the issues of succession and inheritance are not so crucial, and obligations fall more upon sisters. If the deceased is a male, however, in particular a high ranking male, his biadi are the primary object of attention in the removal of hair or the removal of the head band of mourning. The apparent purpose of this rite is to formally terminate the alliance link severed in actual fact by death, although a structural purpose fully as important is to transfer support from the old to the new lineage authority.

The newly-inaugurated lineage head addresses the gathering of kinsmen, affines, and friends with "three wines" (see fig. 47); his first duty of office is to return the obligation resting upon him as a result

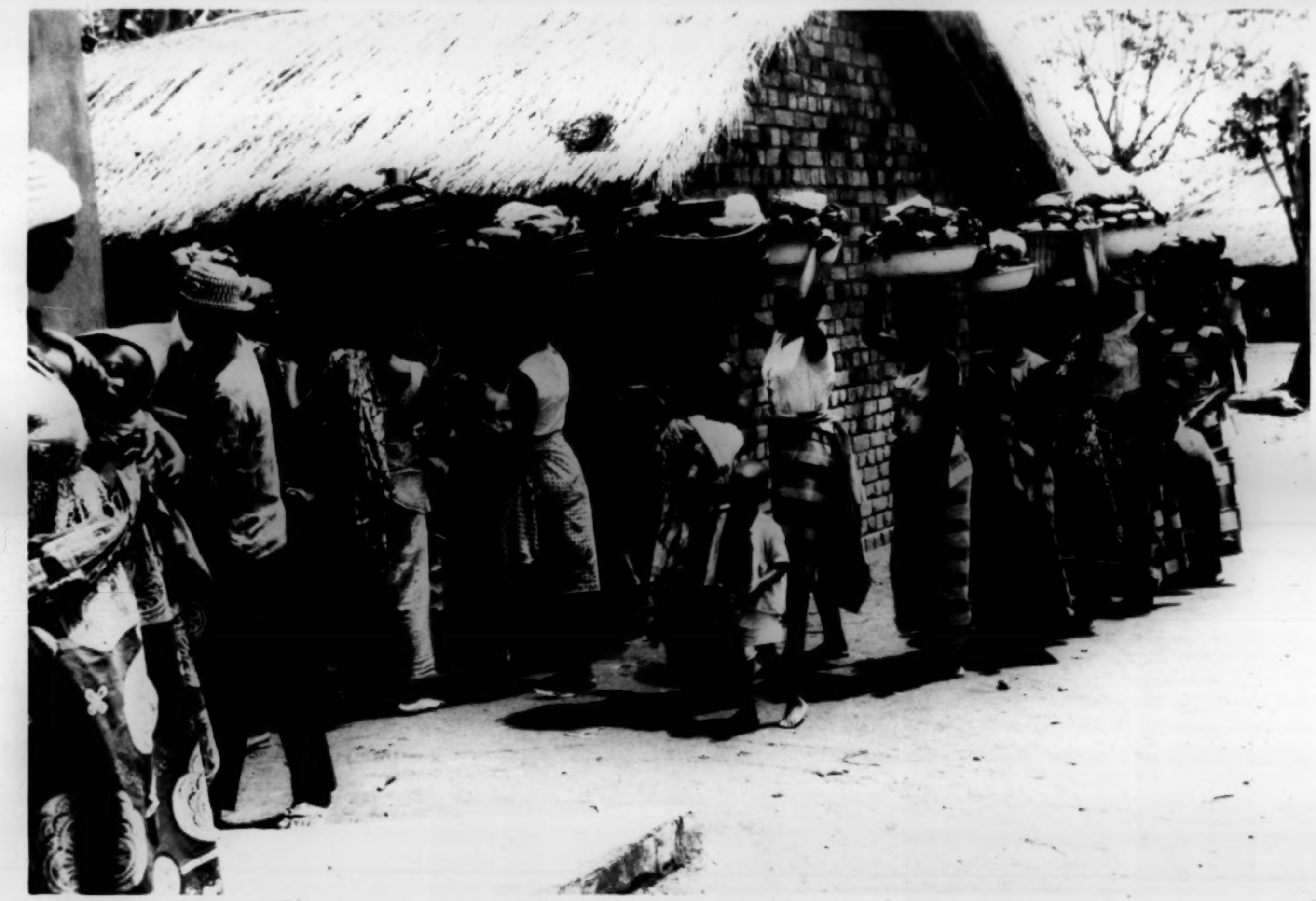

Fig. 45.- Bringing the mafundu of food (Lulombe Village)

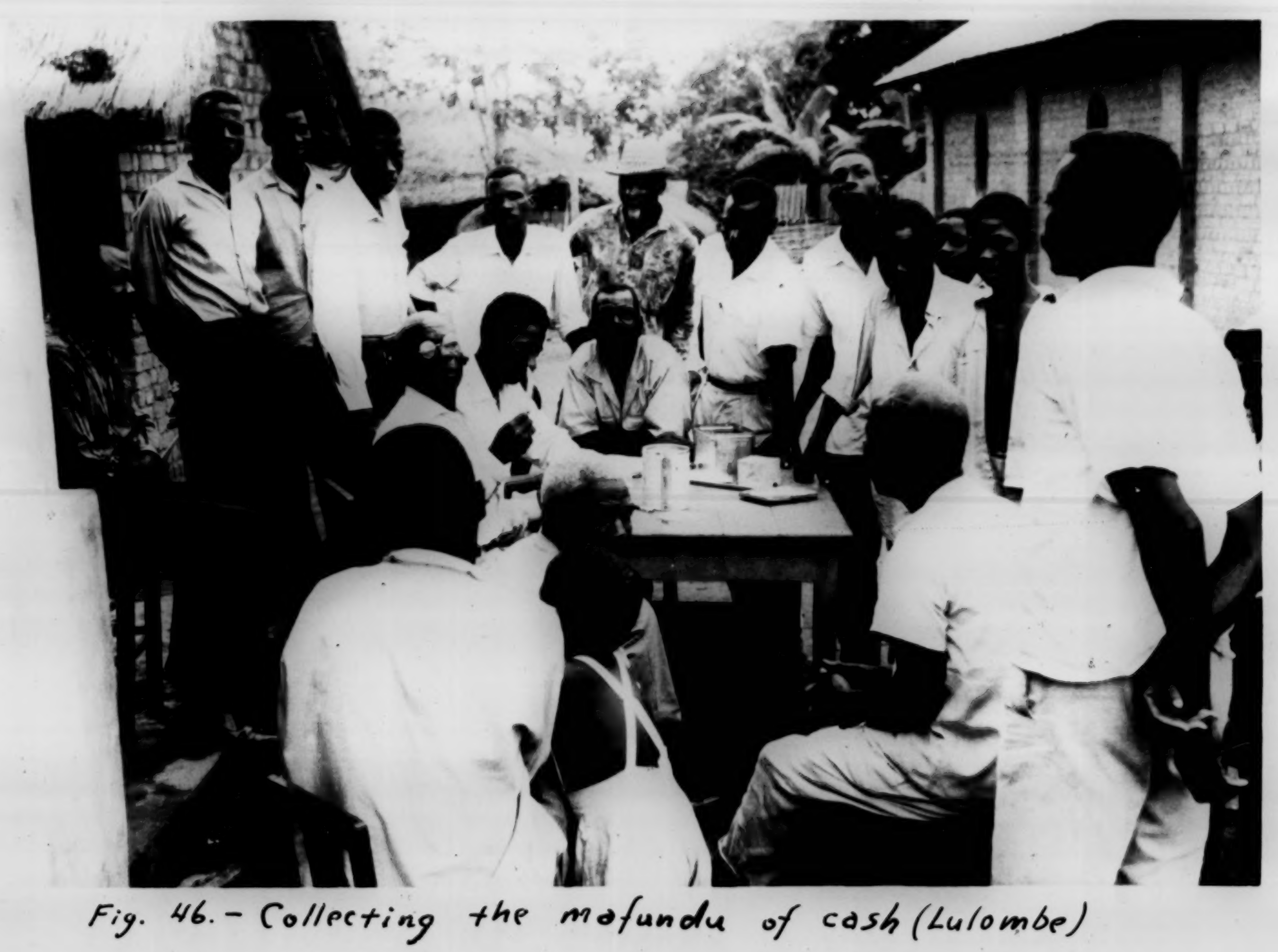

Fig. 46.- Collecting the mafundu of cash (Lulombe)

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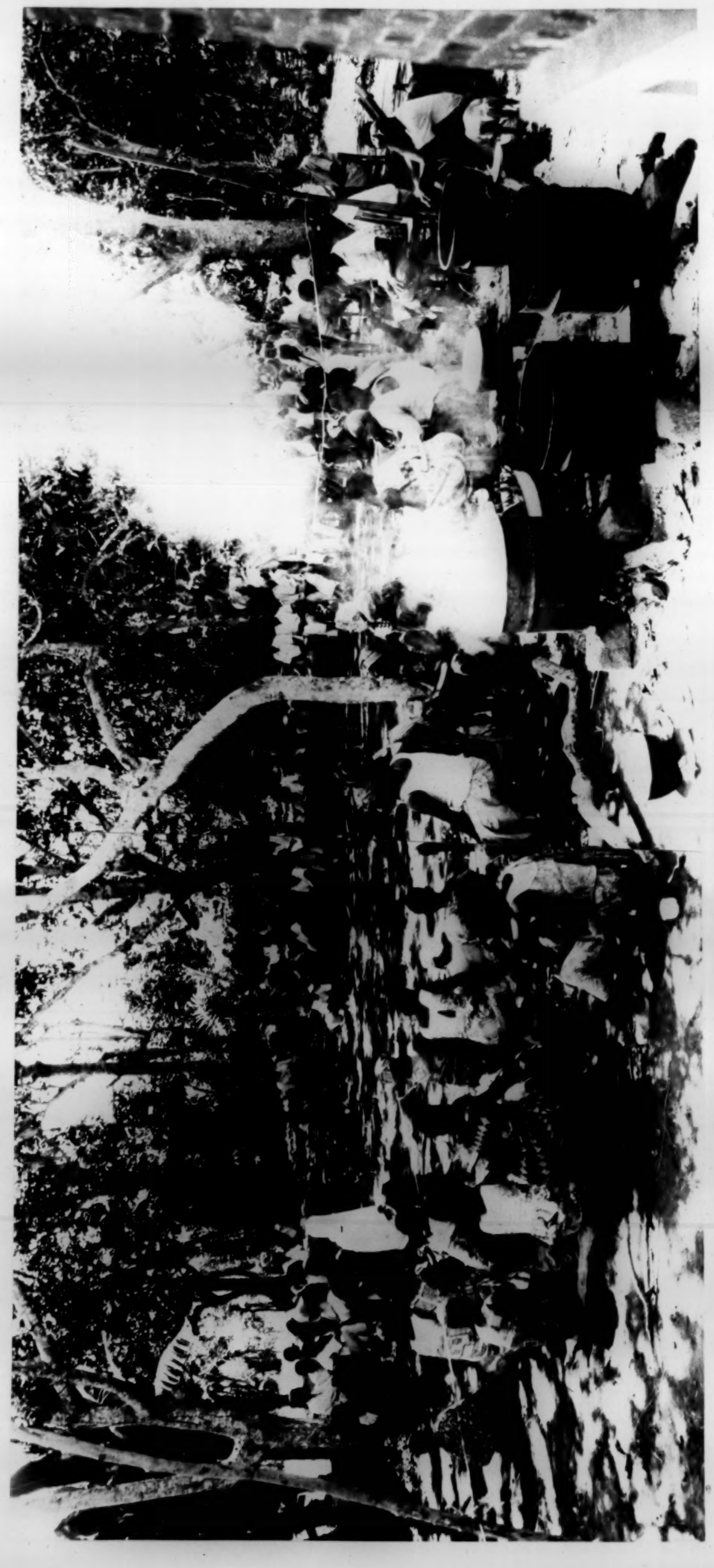

Fig. 47.- Final assembly at "End of Mourning" Rite, just prior to the removal of white headbands from the bidi group (Lulomba Village, Kenge Commune)

of the alliance he has inherited from his predecessor, often his brother. If none of his lineal kinsmen takes the wife, she, along with a previously-determined symbolic payment is, now returned to her kinsmen. Where cutting the hair of the widow is practiced, she herself will receive the first tuft from the top of the head and various categories of on-lookers may receive remaining tufts as a recognition of the terminated alliance. The removal of the white mourning band--a separate but very similar symbolic expression--is also enacted before the large gathering at this occasion (see fig. 41). The immediate wife of the deceased, her daughters, her mother, as well as the wives, wives' daughters and mothers of the deceased's brothers, may all be involved in this, as their sympathies dictate; commonly only the most direct biadi are involved.

The ritual of lifting mourning thus implicates reciprocity of services and gifts wherever alliance joins the host lineage with another. The baana bambuta who have successfully guided their fathers through the perilous night of transition are given a living pig and other gifts for their services. The baana bambuta are also in charge of the preparation of the big feast, a final duty performed in the enclosure around the house of the deceased lineage head; thus the last point of contact between the deceased and the living is a generous banquet, in keeping with the ideal image of the ancestors. The mafula have come to pay their respects and have witnessed the proprietuous actions of the new lineage head; their mutual relations in the future will be determined by his policies.

The third mortuary rite of importance, the matanga, follows at an unspecified date, sometimes many years later, in the form of a feast that is "eaten" in honor of the collective ancestors. In part this corresponds to the historic matondo thanksgiving feast. In contemporary times the matanga has become the occasion for the dedication of tomb monuments of the recent dead of the matrilineage. Formerly there was considerable ostentatious burial of lineage possession along with the corpse. This is still the case today, but tombs of cement and tile and other quasi-permanent embellishments are recent in the Manianga. Many lineages are dependent upon their wage-earning members for the finances that invariably are required for the construction of an acceptable tomb with the stylistic requirements of the genre--and it is an art genre, perhaps the most developed of all Kongo arts at the moment.

The matanga feast, even more than the burial and the lifting of mourning, assembles the urban lineage members in the village. Because of the prestige value attached to lineage tombs, the matanga is an indication of lineage solidarity and affluence, or conversely, lack of it. Everything is done to present the best possible corporate image to affines, children, and visitors attending.

The matanga is thus interesting above all because it has no other explicit aim than to reintegrate the matrilineage. The honor bestowed upon the lineage dead and the reification of outside social ties manifest this function of the rite. Formal written invitations, indicating the nature and measure of gifts expected from the outsiders, are sent to (1) the baana bambuta residing elsewhere. Some of course are inhabiting the village of their fathers and will already have been asked to help construct the tombs. As a group, however, they are asked to bring cloth, cash, wine, and the like. (2) The bakama, female affines of the host lineage men, are expected to bring generously from their personal savings plus various foods for the feast. (3) The bankwezi, classificatory affines, both male and female, of the lineage deceased, are expected to bring their mafundu, their debt obligations of cloth, cash, and wine. And finally, (4) all members of those lineages who bury their dead in the same cemetery with the host lineage or have especially friendly relations with them, apart from alliance, are expected to be present.

Compared to the highly formal prescriptive characteristics of burial and removal of mourning rites, the matanga is marked by emphasis on undifferentiated friendship and kinsmanship. This social tone of the matanga is mirrored in the collective, rather than individual, emphasis bestowed upon the ancestors being honored. Going beyond the construction of specific monuments, the entire cemetery is cleaned, indicative of the total identity of the living community.

In keeping with the receeding identity of the individual dead--or the dead as individuals--there is now room for discussion between the lineage and all its kinsmen. The master of ceremonies of the feast, not always even the lineage head, opens the meeting with "three wines" of welcome. With much pithiness and rhetorical skill he states why everyone is gathered on this day, and so on. He invites all who have something on their heart to speak up. What usually follows comes close to what the Kongo call the good life. All have eaten and drunk. Differences are cast aside, good terms prevail. The feast and the talking are formally closed with the final "wine" of well-wishing and farewell.

One item in the agenda of the feast remains however. Sometime soon after everyone has gone, the host lineage head meets with his baleke, the lineage inferiors and juniors, and the accumulation of gifts and money is distributed amongst them, whence the meaning of the feast name, the matanga. Literally, the headman counts out (from tanga, to count, to distribute in equal or just shares) the wealth of the lineage. Favored clients or past clients once having held offices of authority in the lineage are not forgotten. But the significance of this moment for the well-being of the corporate lineage group is abundantly clear. It reifies lineage authority and solidarity. Even those who have been absent for years are usually present at this crucial moment following the matanga. Maniangans hold that a lineage which can administer the distribution of matanga gifts without a rift will not soon fall into difficulty and internal conflict. The youth may ask their elders any questions about the history of the lineage, and they will gladly tell it all.

Descent Group Status and Alliance Patterns in Kisiasia Village Society

The community comprising a real or ostensible founding, land-owning matrilineage and its client descent groups, constitutes a suitable context in which to verify the many-sided significance of status in inter-group relations. Marriage patterns between exogamous descent units are perhaps the most accurate indicator of relative descent group status due to the asymmetrical rules governing marriage among kinsmen once alliance relations have been established. Given the hierarchic and asymmetrical character of certain kin role categories, it is evident that the more marriage between kinsmen occurs in Manianga society, the more relative exogamous exchange group status is expressed and perpetuated. Kinship marriage, in fact, enforces distinctions of status just as exchange within the kinship network tends to define corporate descent group inner-differentiated organization. The same holds true of the larger hamlet community as an inner differentiated organization. Marriage between patron and client exogamous groups may, in fact, be said to constitute a form of asymmetrical alliance which reifies the status distinction between the two. By contrast, symetrical alliance between two groups, although they may be competing in the hamlet political scene, in fact reifies the status equality of the two groups.

We may begin by analyzing intermarriage patterns between several allegedly equivalent groups of Kisiasia. Between the Bwende and the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini there has been one marriage in each of three generations counting from the young adults of today. After the first marriage on record, although others preceded, two subsequent marriages between these two groups are of the patrilateral cross-cousin type, or, marriage on a status equivalent, perhaps even reciprocal hypergamous basis, indicating a real status equivalence despite the competition between the two groups and the self-enhancing superiority of the Nsundi.

The alliance pattern between the Kimbanga of Kisiasia and the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini (see fig. 48), similarly, reveals a recurrence in recent times of symetrical single patrilateral cross-cousin and alternate generation "cross" marriages, denoting a series of reciprocal "returning of blood" exchanges. As I have suggested elsewhere, such a

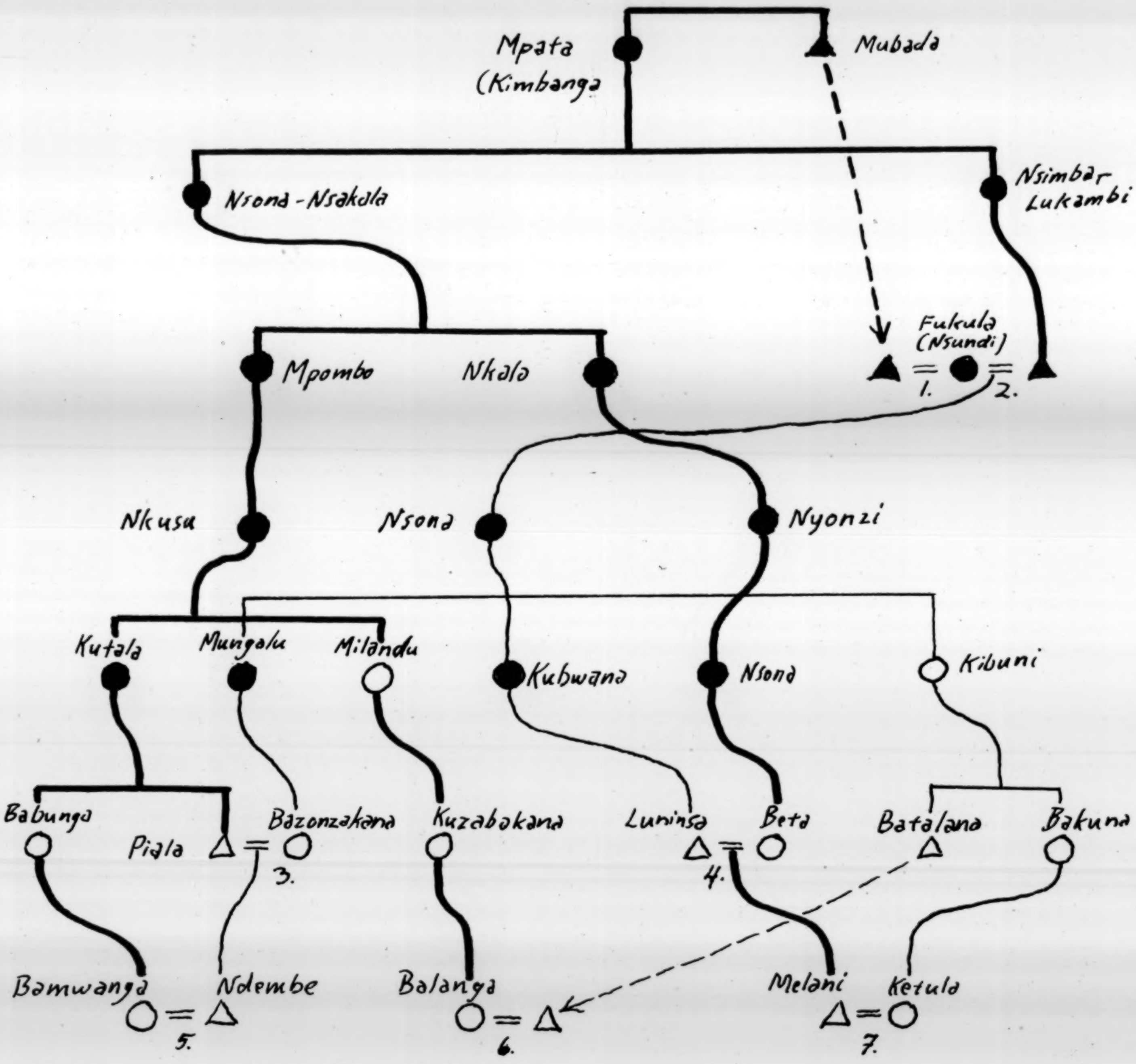
Mpata
(Kimbanga
Mubada
Nsona-Nsakala
Nsimba-
Lukambi
Fukula
(Nsundi)
1.
2.
Mpombo
Nkala
Nkusu
Nsona
Nyonzi
Kutala
Mungalu
Milandu
Kubwana
Nsona
Kibuni
Babunga
Piala
Bazonzakana
3.
Kuzabakana
Luninsa
Beta
4.
Batalana
Bakuna
Bamwanga
Ndembe
5.
Balanga
6.
Melani
Ketula
7.

Fig. 48. --Alliance pattern between Kimbanga (Kisiasia) and Nsundi (Nseke-Mwini).

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1. Mubada marries a woman of another freeman status lineage.

2. Upon Mubada's death, Makima, his SiDaSo, ntekolo (grandson) within the uterine line, takes his "grandmother" nkaka as wife.

3. After two generations of not intermarrying (for reasons discussed elsewhere in the text) Piala of the Kimbanga line marries MoMoMoMoSiSoDaDaDa, presumably his ntekolo; however tracing the kinship along Piala's father's line, not indicated here, there is a possibility that Bazonzakana is his nkaka, or "grandparent"; in any case this is a noncritical kinship affiliation because of the distance. In terms of the fact that it once again opened alliance bonds between

Fig. 48 continued

two rival free lineages, it is nonetheless significant.

4. Luninsa of Nsundi and Beta of Kimbanga, each of another "door of the house" than the two spouses of marriage #3, as it were open alliance relations between their two branches. Classificatorily, although this must be considered to be a "weak" affiliation, Luninsa marries his nkaka, "grandmother".

5. Ndembe marries his uterine FaSiDa, or nkaka, his classificatory "grandmother".

6. Batalana of the Nsundi marries a distant se dia nkento, "father's sister", classificatorily a prohibited marriage, but because of the kinship distance involved this factor is non-crucial.

7. Melani marries his FaMoSiDaDa, classificatory equivalent to a FaSiDa marriage with one's nkaka, "grandparent" or patrilateral cross-cousin.

pattern reifies corporate exchange group distinctiveness and autonomy, in that it places a position value on the integration of descent substance of one's patrilateral matriline. Carried out on the reciprocal basis, the patrilateral cross-cousin marriage pattern indicates a status equivalence of the two groups such as the Nsundi and the Kimbanga illustrated here.

Subsequent to the marriage of Fukula first to Mubada, and following his death, to Makima, his sister's daughter's son, there are however no marriages between the two lines for several generations, in spite of the long history of contact between them. In order to understand such an abrupt suspension of alliance relations, we must look to the generalized alliance pattern of each group. Both the Nsundi and the Kimbanga practiced the common custom of maintaining from two to three reciprocal patrilateral "cross" alliance relations with other outside lineages of neighboring villages. Not only does such a practice maintain good relations with outside groups, but it is one form of retaining allies when one interlineage alliance relationship becomes impossible because of critical land disputes, for example, as was the case between the territorially-adjacent Nsundi and Kimbanga. Figure 48 indicates that it was not until the marriage of Piala of the senior sublineage of the Kimbanga with Bazonzakana of the senior sublineage of the Nsundi that alliance relations were again opened between the two rivals, whose history of competition over commonly settled land has been given in Chapter IV. Apparently neither group, backed by numerous client lines, was willing to enter mutual alliance on status inequivalent terms. Thus, it was only when Luninsa of the Nsundi married Beta of the Kimbanga, that the reciprocal patrilateral cross-cousin marriage form denoting equals was again initiated. Only in contemporary times do the patrilateral cross-cousin marriages again reaffirm the independence of each group with respect to the other.

Between the Bwende of Nseke-Mwini and the Kimbanga of Kisiasia (see fig. 49), however, there is a pattern of assymetrical inter-marriage, with the Kimbanga marrying MoBrDa and the Bwende FaSiDa respectively. The marriage of Mbinda of the Kimbanga to Temboso of the Bwende, his uterine daughter, a marriage of questionable legitimacy normally prohibited, suggests that the Kimbanga disregarded conventional marriage rules in this instance in the interest of asserting corporate group superiority over the Bwende. A similar instance in which a male of the Bwende group is to have taken as wife his uterine brother's daughter of the Mazinga client line in Nseke-Mwini, suggests that marriage forms which are today prohibited may have in past time symbolized the virtual absence of male authority, in the woman's descent line, and

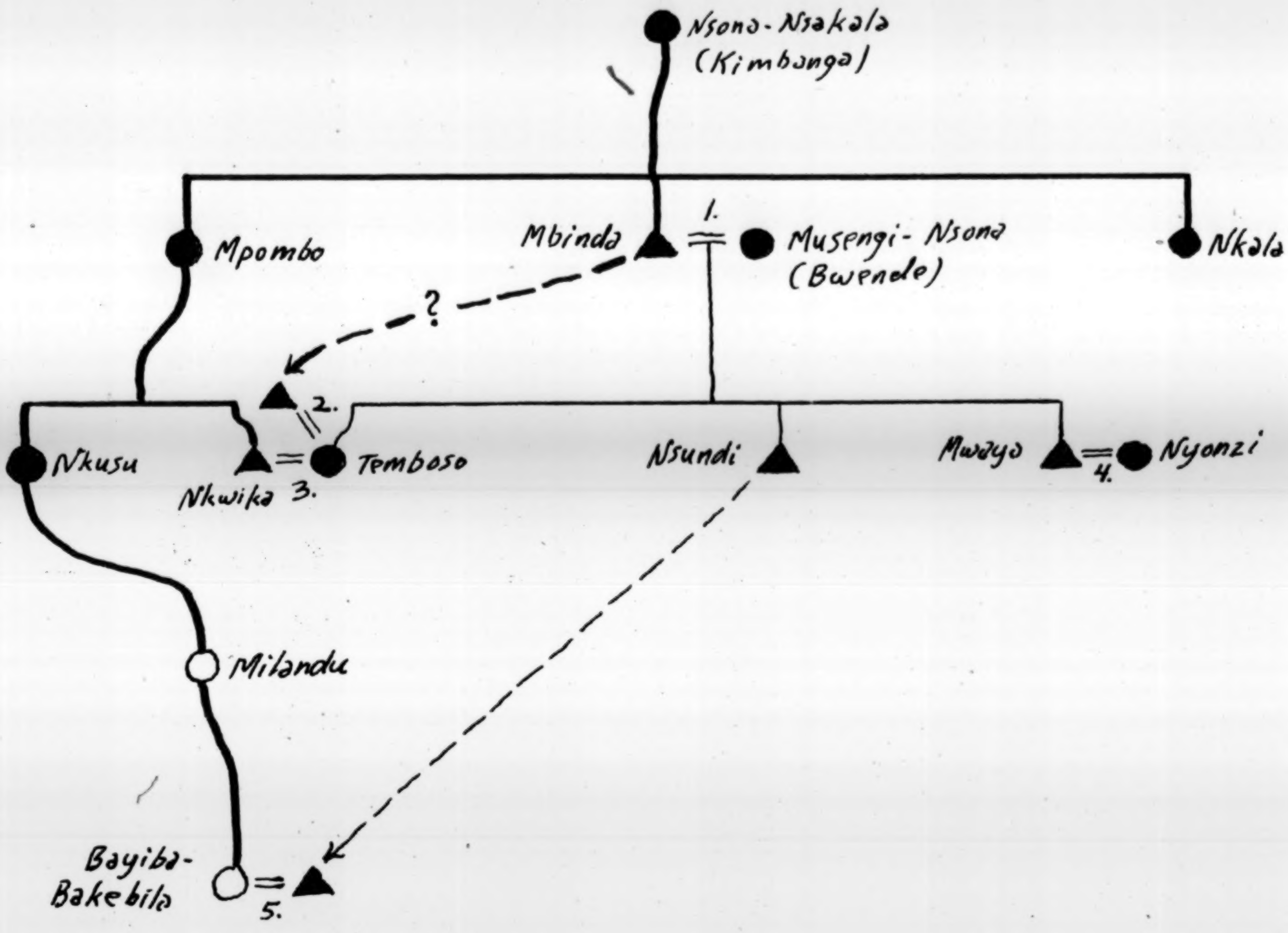

Fig. 49.--Alliance pattern between Kimbanga (Kisiasia) and Bwende (Nseke-Mwini)

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1. Mbinda of freeman status marries a woman of allegedly free status although the superior status of the latter group is minimized by Mbinda's consanguinal descendants who consider the Bwende group to be of client status vis-à-vis the Nsundi of Nseke-Mwini.

2. Upon the death of Musengi-Nsona, according to some informants, Mbinda takes his uterine daughter as wife-replacement. If this is correct, the prohibitions normally attached to this type of marriage have been overridden by the requirements of continuing corporate descent group status requirements.

3. Nkwika of the Kimbanga marries his MoBrDa, the common form for simply "available" or inferior rank marriage. Contingent upon marriage #2, he inherits the wife of his MoBr, considered a prohibited (nzitu) marriage. In terms of the latter set of rules, the continuing alliance relationship predominates over generational rules.

4. Mwaya of the Bwende marries FaSiDa, a marriage commonly denoting status equivalency or superiority. Terminologically he marries his nkaka, or "grandmother". For him it is thus a hypergamous marriage.

5. Nsundi of the Bwende marries his FaSiDaDaDaDa, classificatorily his nkaka, or "grandmother" of an alternative generation to his own.

the absorption of such inferior lines to the overriding authority of their husband-patron's corporate group. The marriage of Nsundi of the Bwende group to Bayiba-Bakebila of the Kimbanga group on a classificatorily patrilateral "cross" basis in more recent times would suggest the rising status of the Bwende relative to the Kimbanga. But the absence of any contemporary intermarriage between these two groups, as will be seen in the relationship of the Nsundi to the Kimbanga, probably indicates a continuing status ambivalence between the two.

There is, as might be expected, a considerable degree of intermarriage between client lines, both within a single hamlet community headed by a dominant lineage as well as across hamlet lines. These alliance relations, unlike those between two lineages of freeman status, tend not to develop into "patterned" cross-cousin kinship marriage links because of the pressure by superior groups to utilize alliance of inferiors for their own political purposes. For example, client males may be asked to take the wife of a deceased male of the patron line, thereby filling in for a uterine or classificatory brother in the levirate or wife inheritance. The effect of such action is to keep their superior's wife and her children in the community as long as possible in order not to impair the alliance link between two dominant lineages. But where two client descent groups do manage to intermarry in successive generations much the same rules and conditions apply as in the marriage between status equivalent descent groups anywhere, i.e., the marriage in the second and successive generations of a man with his patrilateral "cross" relatives.

Continued intermarriage between superior and inferior ranked descent groups, again either within the hamlet community of one's immediate client inferiors, or between such communities, demonstrates most clearly the important role of alliance in expressing and determining status. Following the initial marriage between superior male and inferior female, further alliance indicates that males of dominant status tend to marry their MoBrDa, or a similar matrilateral "cross" relative of the status inferior line, and males of inferior status to marry their FaSiDa or another patrilateral "cross" relative in the superior line. The assymetry of such alliance is consonant with the kinship terminology according to which FaSiDa is "grandparent" (as are all "cross" patrilateral females of alternative generations), and MoBrDa is "grandchild". Relations of marriage between two descent groups along these lines approximate what one might call "lopsided" or economically non-reciprocating alliance bonds.

As already noted elsewhere, matrilateral cross-cousin marriage can occur theoretically only as alliance between equals if it is structured in a cyclical fashion among three or more exogamous groups in a system where women are passed in one direction and prestations in the other. The only excpetion to this rule is that of direct double cross-cousin marriage in which cross-cousins or "cross" relatives may be both matrilateral and patrilateral from the adjacent preceding generational marriage of mother's brother with father's sister. In Kisiasia and the

Manianga at large this form is to my knowledge consciously avoided. In native thinking it is likely to lead to witchcraft because of the extreme convergence of kinship role categories. It is considered to be a sort of paranoid alliance, which, although logically the ultimate of cooperation, can lead quickly to total deterioration of relations between the two groups should one side initiate a divorce. The other side would be obliged to retaliate, thereby breaking down the reciprocal exchange structure and jeopardizing the internally-differentiated hierarchy within each lineage. Neither is the double direct cross-cousin marriage form suitable for maintaining the inner-differentiated hierarchy of several descent groups within the hamlet community of patrons and clients. The reasons for this become clear if the economic transactions of marriage are reviewed.

The bride payment ordinarily originates from the groom's father's and mother's brother's groups in equal percentage if the young man cannot afford it himself. Traditionally, and increasingly in the present time, the bride's father receives a proportionately larger sum than her mother's brother, her jural possessor. Thus when a male marries his matrilateral cross-cousin of a client line depending on his own group, mother's brother, who gives money, is the one and the same individual (or a classificatory role equivalent) as the father of the bride, who receives the lusansu (training, blessing, upbringing) fee. In practice the lusansu is eliminated from such a marriage and what exchange of gifts occurs is only symbolic of the right to sexual union. The marriage is usually considered to be contracted without bride payment. What occurs here, in structural terms, is that the hypothetical alliance circle of matrilaterally-marrying groups does not close, but is so to speak subverted to the hierarchically-ranked political unit of exogamous descent groups, thereby becoming tantamount to socio-economic domination.

An examination of the alliance links between the Kimbanga of Kisiasia and the Mpanga-Tetolo (fig. 50), and between the Kimbanga and the Kikwimba of Kimbulu village (fig. 51), reveals a consistent asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage pattern, with the Kimbanga male marrying MoBrDa in both client groups, and the male of these latter groups marrying his real or classificatory FaSiDa, in the Kimbanga lineage. Here the political, social, and economic domination of patron over client is clearly mirrored in a particular marriage form.

We may safely assume that when carried out to its extreme form, as it probably was in certain instances in the historic past of the Manianga, the asymmetrical cross-cousin marriages between patron and client would lead to corporate group endogamy and limited exchange at the level of the political unit, the chiefdom or small kingdom of which the seventeenth century Loango, and to a lesser degree, the late nineteenth century Kavati are examples. The non-reciprocating character of alliance in these cases provides us with a clue in explaining the occasional disregard of customary generational and sex-linked marriage prohibitions such as father-daughter, brother's daughter-father's brother, and father's sister-brother's son marriages noted in the Kisiasia ethnography above. Normal descent-oriented kinship categories and roles tend to be less important, and are in fact disregarded, in favor of the total community of descent lines under the authority of a single dominant lineage. This factor, more than any other, indicates that alliance is an important, if indirect, determinant of descent group inner differentiation and organization. It is alliance, with all accompanying rivalry and ritual, rather than descent, which defines the corporate descent group.

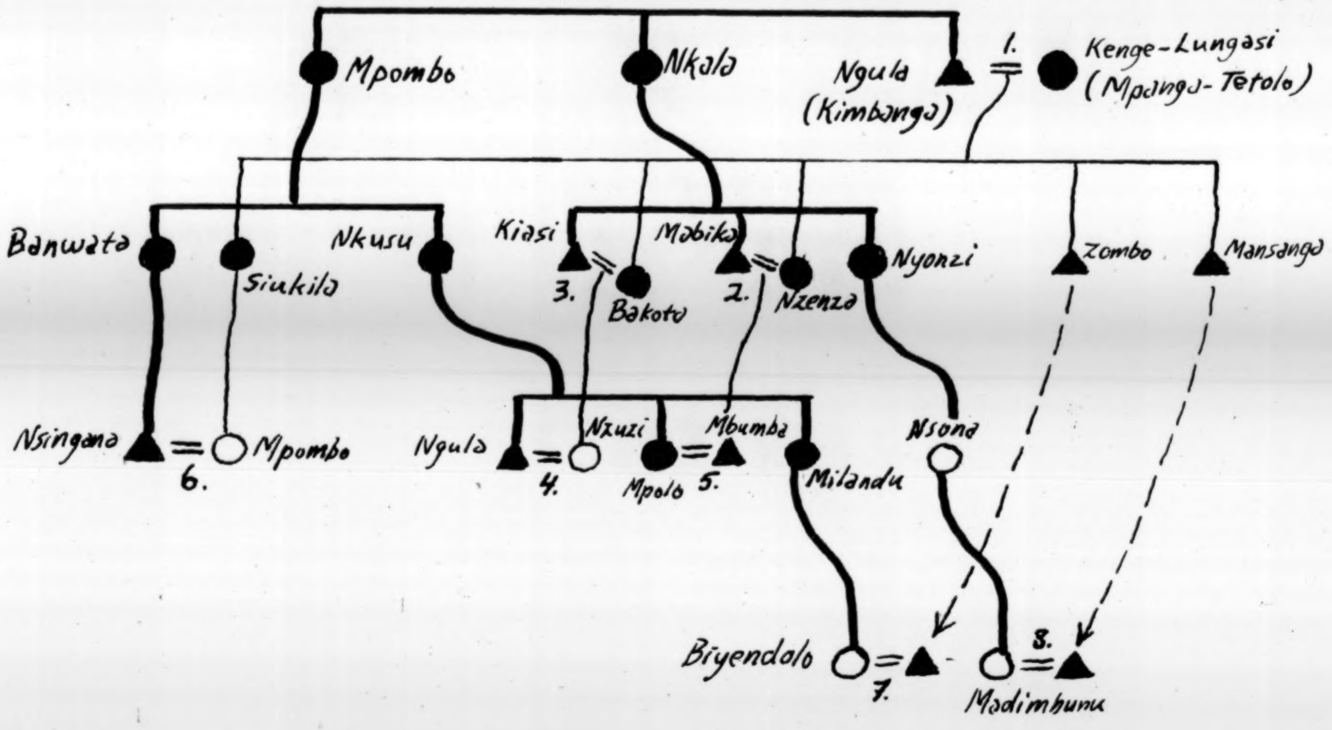
Mpombo
Nkala
Ngula
(Kimbanga)
1.
Kenge-Lungasi
(Mpanga-Tetolo)
Banwata
Siukila
Nkusu
Kiasi
3.
Bakoto
Mabika
2.
Nzenza
Nyonzi
Zombo
Mansanga
Nsingana
6.
Mpombo
Ngula
4.
Nzuzi
Mpolo
5.
Mbumba
Milandu
Nsona
Biyendolo
7.
8.
Madimbunu

Fig. 50.--Alliance pattern between Kimbanga (Kisiasia) and Mpanga-Tetolo (Kimata-Mongo)

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1. Ngula of the superior status lineage marries a slave woman.

2. Mabika marries his MoBrDa, classificatorily ntekolo or "grandchild" to him.

3. Kiasi similarly marries MoBrDa, ntekolo.

4. Ngula-Diebo marries his MoMoBrDaDa, considered classificatorily, his MoBrDa, or his ntekolo.

5. Mbumba, male of the inferior descent line status-wise, marries his FaMoSiDaDa, classificatorily his FaSiDa, or nkaka, "grandparent".

6. Nsingana of the patron line marries MoMoBrDaDa, classificatorily MoBrDa, or ntekolo.

7. Zombo marries his FaSiDaDaDa, nkaka, classificatory "grandparent."

8. Mansanga marries similarly, his nkaka.

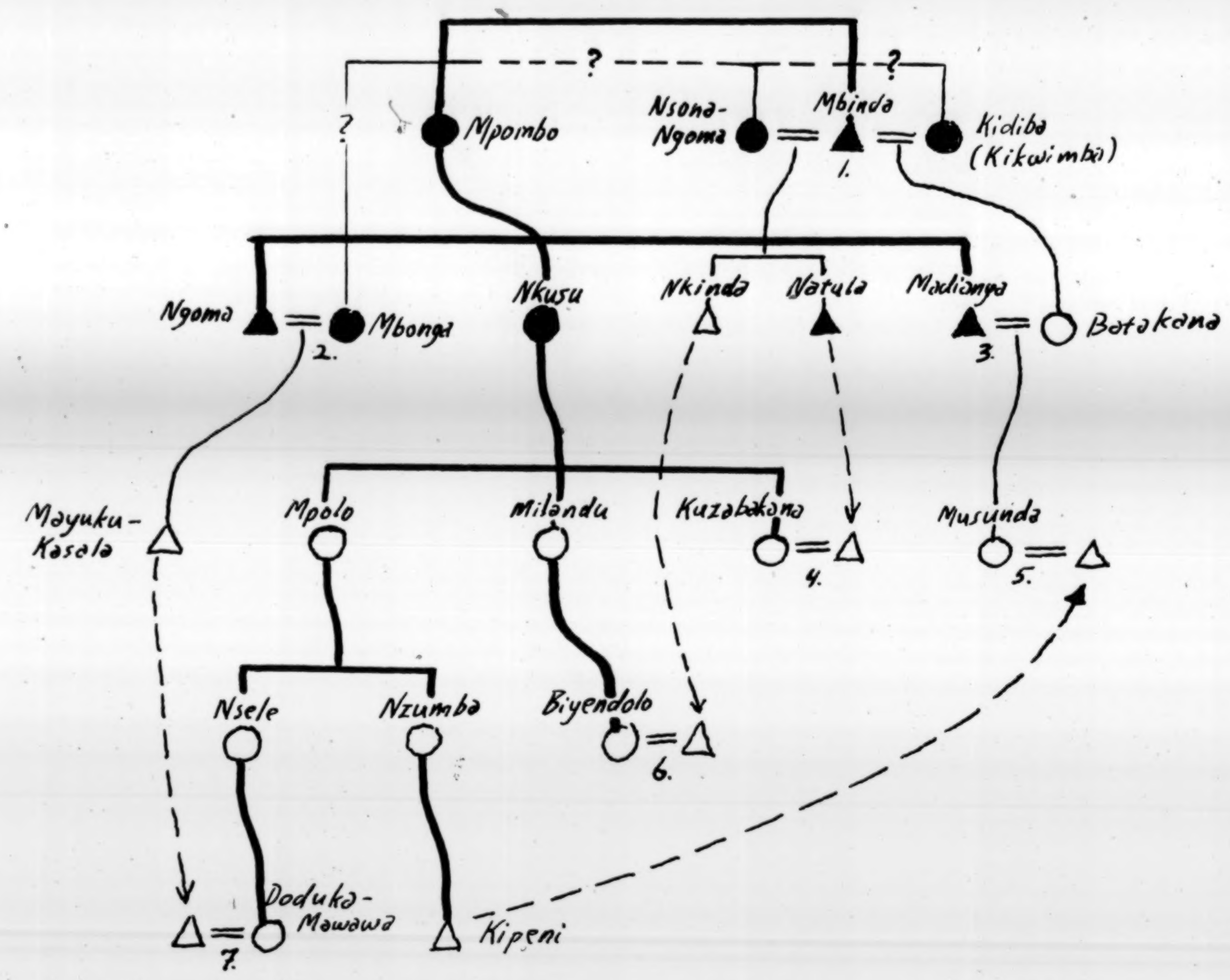
?
?
?
Mpombo
Nsona-Ngoma
Mbinda
1.
Kidiba (Kikwimba)
Ngoma
2.
Mbonga
Nkusu
Nkinda
Natula
Madianga
3.
Batakana
Mayuku-Kasala
Mpolo
Milandu
Kuzabakana
4.
Musunda
5.
Nsele
Nzumba
Biyendolo
6.
Doduka-Mawawa
7.
Kipeni

Fig. 51.--Alliance pattern between Kimbanga (Kisiasia) and Kikwimbo (Kimbulu)

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1. Mbinda marries two uterine or classificatory "sisters" (whether simultaneously or consecutively is not known) of a descent group dependent upon his own.

2. Ngoma marries a woman of the dependent group whose exact connection with others of her descent line is not known; presumably she is at least a classificatory "daughter" of his mother's brother's wives.

3. Madianga marries his mother's brother's daughter, in classificatory terms his ntekolo, or granddaughter.

4. Natula, male of the dependent line, marries his FaSiDaDa, classificatory se dia nkento, or "father's sister".

5. Kipeni of the superior ranked line marries his MoMoMoBrDa, his classificatory nkaka (grandmother) or ntekolo (granddaughter) depending on emphasis.

Fig. 51 continued

---

6. Nkinda of the status inferior line marries his FaSiDaDaDa, his classificatory nkaka (grandmother).

7. Mayuku-Kasala marries his FaSiDaDaDa, classificatory nkaka or "grandmother" to him.

From 1940 to 1964 the major client groups of Kisiasia acquired freeman status although fragment groups still remain tied to patrons and lord-husbands. Some of the former clients remain today in the settlement of their former patrons, retaining ex post facto rights to land in much the same way as before. Others who had obtained land nearby during clientage are reluctant to return to their settlements of origin because of the difficulty they would undoubtedly encounter in establishing themselves in an already over-crowded lineage estate.

The reason for this apparent sudden change in an old institution must be sought, not so much in changing values, but in changing economic conditions. More than four decades ago the emigration of men from the area to find work had begun. In many cases it was the clients, with difficulty in finding land and a decent subsistence, who became the wage earners in the towns and cities. The possibility of ransoming one's kinsmen became better the moment even one or two young men could work for cash. And even locally, with the rise of a market possibility as roads were built and European and Congolese merchants began to buy local agricultural products--manioc, peanuts, palm oil and nuts, etc.,--the basis of the economy shifted from "blood pigs" to "dry pigs" i.e., from ritual and socially-linked funds to more moveable credit. One finds a wide variety of part-time merchants who try to earn a bit through commerce alongside of their other preoccupations. Others are more serious about their financial interests and establish shops in local centers.

It is noteworthy, however, that whereas the statistical frequency of clientage has diminished considerably in the past decades, the various dimensions of clientage have not disappeared at all; the institution is still respected for what it is. The colonial government, although it tried to suppress polygynous marriage, did little to legislate against what the Kikongo language euphemistically terms mboongo baantu, "people money". Thus when a client status descent group seeks its independence, the patron has the right before government courts to recover the lusansu, i.e., the expenditure of tangible and intangible wealth upon his proteges, as well as contemporary equivalent of the original debt obligation.

Along with the statistical decline of clientage the particular alliance form of reciprocal MoBrDa-FaSiDa marriages between two unequally ranked descent groups has all but disappeared. Many younger people contend that the MoBrDa marriage is not practiced at all. What they are saying, in effect, is that no self-respecting individual will marry in this wise. But the relative rarity today of this particular form of marriage, and the status inequivalence that goes along with it, does not, in my estimation, indicate that the prevailing attitudes towards alliance have altered appreciably. The best indication of this is the fact that many lineages, including the Nsundi and the Kimbanga of Kisiasia, have continued their long-standing "honorable" alliance relations with two or three neighboring counter-parts, along the lines of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage reciprocity. These alliance ties, however, account for only a minimal percentage of lineage marriages every generation. The rest tend to marry with lineages at a greater distance. As a result of the relative calm of the region, and the facility of traveling widely on foot, and of meeting potential spouses in school, the possibility of marriage with someone of a lineage 20 and 30 miles distant is much greater. But even such marriages do not basically alter the marriage and alliance institution. There is a tendency for even these alliances to become the traditional FaSiDa reciprocal marriage relation when they are extended into a successive generation. And many a father exerts some pressure upon his sons to marry his sisters' daughters. In the modern era of rising land value, this is not without its advantages.

The majority of Manianga emigrants can be included in the above appraisal of modern marriage patterns. Of more than 75 marriages of Kimbanga lineage males and females, for example, only 6 have been contracted with lineages outside of the commune even though nearly half of the lineage men reside outside of the village or the commune.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this work, as originally spelled out in Chapters I and III, has been the analysis of what we may call corporate constitutionalism. The theoretical framework of tracing the mode of corporate identity and instrumental values (see fig. 5) was formulated after a brief analysis of modern economic and political associations such as the cooperatives and the Manianga tribal council. Utilizing this framework of analysis, the focus of the major part of this study was then concerned with conventional social structure at the level of the lineage, the hut, the hamlet, and the traditional associations, the aim being to illuminate the source of a political culture common to both levels of society. The approach to corporate structure has thus been to analyze two levels of phenomena from a single perspective rather than to apply separate conceptual tools to each level, if indeed the two should be distinguished at all. This analytic method must be considered as the prerequisite of comparison of the two levels of corporate life.

In the modern associations it was noted that those with functionally-specific goals, utilizing voluntary or open modes of membership recruitment, resorted to consensus decision-making and to "hiving-off" of dissident elements as a method of severe conflict resolution. By contrast, the associations with functionally-multiplex goals and functions, utilizing assumed or non-voluntaristic modes of membership recruitment, resorted often to opposition voting as a method of drawing decisions, and to factionalism in the working out of conflict, with the political process characterized by a series of inner factional coups as a means of representation and authority allocation. Within the lineage-based society the presence of a tendency toward ascendency of one lineage over another within the hamlet community as a means of political process was noted, as well as that of segmentation along lines of descent within the lineage, both of which find expression in the shifting of settlements. Village society thus appears, at least superficially, to express inner differentiation and tension in similar ways to that noted in the modern associations.

It is necessary, however, to exercise a critique more sensitive than that which merely compares one level of phenomena with the other. It is within the framework of certain analytical principles such as goal orientation, recruitment, mode of function, allocation of authority, and the disposition of power, and the general character of corporate legitimacy, that comparison, and eventually, the recognition of "sources" of organizational values, must be made. It is only in this wise that we can come to grips with the elements of a holistic corporate constitution, a total image of society represented both empirically and in terms of ideas and symbols. With this in mind we may look for certain common themes and structural variations in different corporate groups, either level, incorporating all corporate appearances into the model drawn up for modern association.

In comparing, for example, the various modes of recruitment to functionally-multiplex groups we may note that in the lineage and the hamlet (hut) group, residence and descent are the major criteria for assigning individuals to a corporate group. The Manianga Council, similarly, reflects the recruitment principle of individual identification and loyalty, however vaguely-defined, to his region. Recruitment values of both the lineage and the tribal or territorial council, as it were dictate, each in its own manner, the character of group affairs and political processes. Thus in the lineage, genealogically-reckoned inner differentiation structures decision-making and conflict-resolution. Great attention is paid to maintaining a hierarchically-differentiated group by representation of the various segments. Correspondingly, the lineage follows these same lines of genealogical differentiation in resolving severe conflicts, as a result of which segmentation proceeds. The tribal council, in a not unrelated way, although lacking the element of genealogy, nevertheless must also proceed through inner differentiation to order its affairs, to reach action-producing decisions, and to resolve inner conflicts of a severe nature. Factions over specific issues, drawn variously according to interest, political position, and even age in instances, provide the structure of inner differentiation and group process, as new factions contingent on specific issues rise to the fore and vie for control in constituting the central committee.

Although the particular modes of recruitment as it were dictate the different lines of inner differentiation of the two kinds of groups, the lineage and the tribal council have in common the legitimazing basis that neither constituency ever doubts the basic corporate purpose. This holds true even in the context of serious internal conflict in that one segment or faction will regard the other as a defector from a traitor to a common cause; whether the idiom of mutual accusation of having undermined the common cause is witchcraft (the "sapping of the corporate organization's strength"), tribalism, or some other genre of the role of traitor, the effect is the same, and leads back to a cultural formulation of values regarding corporate identity. It is at this point, despite the various differences in mode of recruitment, that all Maniangan groups expressing primordial loyalties reflect a common culture.

By contrast, the functionally more specific groups command less mystique of common identity among members. Rather, a more practical, limited source of corporate identity characterizes this type of corporate organization. The bond resulting in effective organization of economic and social institutions reflects the assumption that ties can be broken, reformulated, and revised contingent on successful carrying out of the specific function. Whence the predilection to simple consensus decision-making, the contractual character of ties, and the lack of mystical sanctions or the complex "defector" ideology of the functionally-multiplex groups. Manianga culture provides an idiom of expression for these types of quasi-corporate units ranging all the way from the modern cooperatives to traditional associations to the elaboration of alliance relations between corporate descent groups. The historic kitemo, reputedly a basis for certain types of marriage arrangements, would be an instructive example of the traditional culture of functionally specific groups, if more evidence were forthcoming.

The fact that the lineage, a functionally-multiplex group, in certain instances such as alliance, enters into a contractual tie of a functionally-specific character, where it acts "as an individual", suggests that a further feature of the overall associational structure in Manianga society is the double-sided process in which unitary corporative structures, terminal groups at one level of integration, become the component elements of higher-level, or functionally-different, groups. In practice, the history of Manianga institutions has demonstrated a dynamic balance between the two extremes, and a fluctuation of forms between the centralization of corporate functions and their diffusion. Let us examine some examples of this process.

The freeman lineage, classically, was constituted of matrilineally-related, genealogically hierarchized individuals. But every individual had recourse to a "way out" of participation in the particular corporate group to which he was linked by consanguinial ties. He could voluntarily ally himself with his father's group, or with either of the two additional "corners of his identity." The entire estate system, with its hierarchic variables of primary, secondary, tertiary, and so on, orientations, as delineated by Gluckman, is an excellent example of the problem. From one perspective, to put the matter differently, the matrilineage constituted the terminal point of identity; yet from another, it constituted the component part of the more complex hamlet community.

The traditional model of government, similarly, seems to have been oriented along two axes, with centralizing chiefship at one extreme and diffused associational government in such entities as the market system, the Lemba order, and the judgeship, on the other.

The tendency toward multiplex functions and centralization of authority has been noted with corporate entities such as the Manianga Council. The reasons for participation in and support of the more multiplex model of corporate association may be as various as the challenge of economic development of the home region or the opportunity of political power through elections, both of which are examples drawn from the two moments of greatest integration in the Manianga Council's history. Thus when the reasons for common identity are most strongly provocated, the functionally specific model of corporate affairs is replaced by a unitary, multiplex model.

We might well raise the question at this point of whether such vascillation from functionally-multiplex to functionally-specific corporate identity, with the resultant concomitants in recruitment and political process, is anything more than an expression of the several dimensions of a process known to all human society, i.e., fluctuation between centralized and diffused, corporate institutions, between an autocratic or elitest, and a populistic or democratic model of authority.

In terms of the presumably universal dimension of the fluctuation from centralization and diffuseness of authority, and the multiplexity versus specificity of functions of corporate affairs, Kongo-Manianga society would seem to be at a stage comparable to that which Durkheim (1966:10-31) describes for nineteenth century France at that moment when the professional corporations were being reduced in function because of the centralizing governmental role of the newly-created communes. The commune gradually replaced the range of corporate professional categories in French society through the imposition of a bureaucratic and legal order by centralized government, thereby destroying the face-to-face familial entity of the corporations. Engaging in a rare piece of polemic, Durkheim argued for the preservation of the functionally-specific corporations, which in his terms, would preserve the "moral" basis of society by providing an organic integration at the economic level between the various parts of society. A chain of "governmental corporations" were to constitute the basis of the system. Neither the dead weight of a depersonalized bureaucracy nor the recourse to autocratic empire could replace the moral element arising from an individual's identification with a professional corporation. Nor, thought Durkheim, could the bureaucratic or autocratic forms of government, in the communal system of territorially-defined entities, provide a favorable economic structure for society. Whether or not Durkheim's polemic in fact was a viable option for French society is beside the point here. But Durkheim has succeeded in characterizing several aspects of present-day Kongo society in structural terms.

On the surface it would appear that the Maniangans are caught in the throes of becoming a complex society, prey to the expected strains and stresses of combining functional specificity for greater economic effectiveness with functional multiplexity for a more rapid mobilization of skills and resources. However the easy explanation that a rising proliferation of associations in contemporary times implies a greater division of labor, and a more diffuse and complex society, is misleading because it does not take into account several aspects of Kongo political culture.

There has been a marked tendency, as has already been noted, for the associations of modern orientation to evolve into little governments of functionally-multiplex character, providing the context for domination by the elite--whom Durkheim called the third estate of the bourgeoisie--for openly political purposes. The series of coups in the Manianga Council, as well as centralization of authority in the government, are indicative of this process. An organic division of corporations and economic institutions do not flow naturally from these circumstances.

The various political myths--of Mahuungu, of origin from an original city, of the Kodia shell--suggest through symbolic statement that a balance of integration and disintegration, of centralized and diffused authority, and of functionally-specific and -multiplex corporate groups is the normative, or at any rate, the soundest form of society. The Mahuungu myth has a kind of lesson for Kongo political culture, in that although the unitary, self-sufficient lineage is a tempting alternative, it is ultimately destructive. Mahuungu, taking a sudden shift of course, turns "about the tree" in a reverse direction, introducing a delicate harmony of complementarily-opposed principles to social order. Lineage endogamy, expressive of ultimate and total autonomy, is defined as incestuous and symbolizes the greatest sin, whereas alliance and intermarriage with another corporate lineage becomes the greatest virtue. Thus, although the corporate constitution of the lineage is idealized and even made sacred, this constitution also sacralizes the functional interrelatedness of descent groups, implying that the individual lineage can only be preserved by alliance between lineages. The source of the Mahuungu myth is not known, but it certainly strikes the same emphasis as the Lemba association, patron of markets and exchange.

Somewhat similarly, the lore of Kodia, symbol at once of authority and power, contains a modal statement of Kongo-Manianga corporate structure if properly interpreted. Kodia, spiral-shaped shell, has a variety of symbolic referents, and may variously denote sexual, mystical, and political victory. But the underlying theme in Kodia symbolism is that victory is cyclical. Applied to corporate structure, this is consonant with a fluctuation between specific and unitary intense and flat, centralized and diffused authority patterns, or at least a harmonious balance between the two. Consonant with the cyclical, or vascillating character of Kongo political institutions is the inevitability with which the despot is dethroned, and the commoner vindicated. Kodia is thus a two-edged sword--like the ABAKO symbol of the shell with a sword in it, captioned "By Thee we Conquer"--promising victory for the proponent, and defeat for the opponent. Corporate identity always flows outward from an inward base to define who is the opponent, reflective that multiplex association may have a strong purpose in preserving an image or forum of secure authority, even though they lack in effectively diversified institutions.

It would appear, ~~in~~ conclusion, that the best way to make use of the dimensions of this traditional corporate constitution of Kongo-Manianga society in studying the modern associations would be to launch out toward the two extreme ends of the gamut running from diffusion of authority to centralization of authority, and from functional specificity to multiplexity. Each direction provides its own manner of integration of society, whether this be, as Weber (1964:150) puts it, "by approval of gods or priests on the one hand, or through the consent of the electors on the other." At the one extreme integration is sought through mystical means, as is evident in the rites of reconciliation described above in Chapter VII. At the other extreme integration is forthcoming through the adumbration of codes of laws and bureaucratic order, such as are evident in a minimal way in the "laws of the market," the "Lemba laws", and other aspects of the custom.

Whichever the mode of such integration, it flows from what Weber also designated as a corporate constitution, being "the empirically existing probability varying in extent, kind, and conditions, that rules imposed by the governing authority will be acceded to" (1964:149).

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